FREE THE 18!

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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# WARD WORKERS LEFT HOLDING THE BAG

## THE CONVENTION TO 'LIQUIDATE' THE C.P.

The Communist Party is now meeting in convention to place the formal seal of approval upon a program and policy which to all intents and purposes have been the official line of the party for some time — defense of capitalism and complete abandonment of the working class struggle for socialism.

Earl Browder laid down this line in his report to the Plenum of the National Committee last January when he said:

**". . . we frankly declare that we are ready to cooperate in making (American) capitalism work effectively in the post-war period . . . We must be prepared to give the hand of cooperation and fellowship to everyone who fights for the realization of this (Anglo-Soviet-American) coalition. If J. P. Morgan supports this coalition and goes down the line for it, I as a Communist am prepared to clasp his hand and join with him to realize it. . . We Communists are opposed to permitting an explosion of class conflict in our country when the war ends. . . we are now extending the perspective of national unity for many years into the future."**

Here in the most brazen, unabashed language, we have the formal renunciation of the class struggle, the abandonment of every last pretense of a fight for socialism. Browder and his confreres are now ranged openly on the side of the Wall Street capitalists against the workers.

Browder underscored the new line in an interview with the newspaper PM on March 15 when he declared that the "Communists" intended "to see if it is not possible. . . to help our country, under the system of capitalism as we have it (basically a monopoly system which regards itself as a system of free enterprise) to play a progressive role in this next period."

**Said the PM interviewer: "I had a discussion with two friends of the National Association of Manufacturers and I must say that you would get along with them fine. In large sections they almost sound word for word like you."**

**To which Browder replied: "That's fine; I'm awfully glad to hear that. I am not sorry when you say that leading members of the NAM talk like me. My report to the Plenum of our party was distributed to every delegate at the economic conference of the NAM and I am told most of them read it through."**

Irony itself stands disarmed in the face of such a display of sycophancy toward Big Business.

But now that Browder has converted the Communist Party into an unblushing handmaiden of Wall Street monopoly capitalism, what need is there for the existence of the Communist Party at all? Browder already answered that question in his Plenum report with the announcement that the party was to be converted into an "American Communist Political Association."

Thus there passes from the scene the former revolutionary fighting organization of the American working-class which arose after the first imperialist war as a section of the Communist International founded by Lenin and Trotsky. In its place stands a sinister agency of that very system of capitalism which the Communist International and the Communist parties were originally formed to fight against and vanquish in the struggle for a new socialist world.

**The convention will imprint the seal of formal sanction on this reactionary metamorphosis. It was characteristic of the degeneracy of Stalinism that Browder did not wait for any convention decision before announcing the new line to the world. As a matter of fact, he has already excoriated and threatened excommunication of any party members who doubt or oppose it. Standing hat in hand before the representatives of the profit-bloated corporations, he spits venom at those who dare to voice the socialist aspirations of the exploited workers, bearers of all the burdens of the devastating imperialist war.**

The corruption and degeneration of the Stalinist movement is not something sudden and unexpected. It has developed over a period of many years, through successive stages, in step with the degeneration of the Soviet Union under the reactionary rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The culminating stage was reached with the open passage of Browder and Company into the camp of American imperialism when Hitler's armies invaded the Soviet Union. Today the Stalinist leaders are the most rabid agents of Wall Street, the most outspoken supporters of the imperialist slaughter, the most malignant enemies of the working class.

**In the name of "national unity" between capitalists and workers they denounce, attack and betray workers on strike. They have become the most vicious strike-breakers, as witness the stab in the back which they delivered to the striking coal miners some months**

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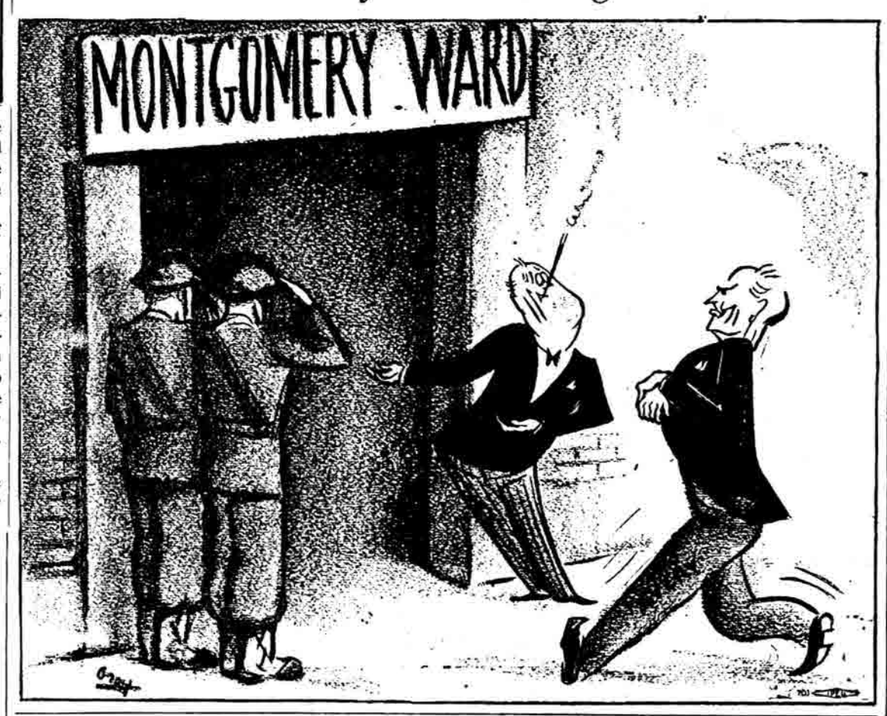
*Avery's Homecoming*




## Steel Union Delegates Flay No-Strike Pledge

*By Art Preis*

CLEVELAND, Ohio, May 13.—The 2,300 official delegates to the CIO United Steel Workers second constitutional convention, said to be the largest union gathering of its kind ever held in this country, today wound up their final session at the Public Auditorium here and departed for their homes and jobs. For almost the entire five days of the convention their voices had been virtually drowned out by an almost continuous oratorical flood from their president, Philip Murray, and his top lieutenants, who unceasingly pounded the delegates in an effort to arouse their enthusiasm for the no-strike pledge, unconditional reliance on the pro-corporation War Labor Board and continued unquestioning support of Roosevelt.

But one stormy hour and a half outburst against the no-strike pledge late in the second day's sessions rudely shattered Murray's hopes of completely stifling any serious expression of opposition to his policies of retreat and preserving the appearance of unanimous satisfaction with the leadership's program. In that single brief period, the rank and file broke momentarily through Murray's iron control to voice the steel workers' real sentiments on the key issue, the no-strike policy which has kept them bound and helpless before the steel barons.

IMPASSIONED PLEA

Only the most impassioned plea of Murray, finally r a m m e d through the no-strike resolution against a spontaneous revolt that at one moment threatened to sweep the convention.

For the first time since he assumed control of the steel union nine years ago, Murray's policies met with a serious challenge. And for the first time Murray was defeated in a disputed question before a steel workers' gathering, when the delegates refused to permit him to halt debate on the no-strike issue.

When the convention adjourned this afternoon, Murray had all his resolutions safely passed and tucked in his pocket. Once more all appeared calm on the surface. But that is just the appearance of things, as Murray now knows.

For in every steel town and plant the militant workers realize, as a result of the upsurge against the no-strike pledge at the convention, that their sentiments are echoed by hundreds of thousands of steel workers every-

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## Novack Speaks At West Coast Affair

**LOS ANGELES, Calif., May 14—125 members and friends of the Civil Rights Defense Committee welcomed George Novack to Los Angeles at a buffet supper last night.**

After the supper George Novack gave a report of his national tour to mobilize organized labor and other progressive support behind the campaign to Free the 18. Novack reported that in every city visited he had found the ground work for the campaign well laid by the local CRDC branches. Sizeable sections of organized labor and of Negro organizations knew of the Minneapolis Labor Case and of the dangers to labor and Negro rights created by the imprisonment of the 18. His task had become that of consolidating and extending the widespread support already given to the case.

Mr. Novack also reported on his visit to the 14 prisoners in Sandstone Penitentiary and to Kelly Postal in Stillwater Penitentiary.

**Last night's buffet supper was the first major event of Novack's three weeks' stay in Los Angeles. Novack will address a mass meeting, Sunday, May 21, at the North Hall of the Embassy Auditorium 839 So. Grand. Dr. Clinton J. Taft, Director of the Southern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union will be chairman. Guest speakers will include George Dobsevage, President of the Southern California Steel Council, CIO; Oscar Soares, Secretary-Treasurer of the Los Angeles Division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters AFL and Eugene Judd, Vice-President of General Motors Local 216 of the United Automobile Workers of America, CIO.**

## War Profits

**War profits continue to zoom higher while wages remain frozen under the Little Steel formula, further bolstered by Roosevelt's recent restatement of his "hold-the-line" order. The National City Bank publication reveals that corporation profits, after all taxes, in the first quarter of 1944 are 6 per cent over 1943 and 13 per cent above 1942.**

**What the real profits gains have been in the leading war industries are indicated by a survey of aircraft corporation profits released last w e e k through the CIO Economic Outlook. The CIO report states that "seven companies had a total net worth of $333,311,000 in 1942 on which they earned a profit of 36 per cent after taxes." But the real picture is disclosed by the fact that actual profits were 179 per cent of stockholders' real investments, because 82 per cent of this net worth represented excessive profits of prior years which had been reinvested in the companies, permitting them to pyramid profits to a "fantastic degree."**

## *Brewster CIO Union Leaders Join CRDC*

The mounting labor support throughout the country for the Minneapolis Labor Case is highlighted this week by the addition of three new labor figures, Thomas De Lorenzo, President, Gabriel De Angelis, Financial Secretary and Bernard Rifkin, Associate Editor, of Brewster Local 365 UAW-CIO, to the National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. This Local sent $100 to aid the Committee, which is conducting a national campaign to free the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO, and to repeal the Smith "Gag" Act under which they were the first to be sentenced.

Mr. Thomas De Lorenzo will be one of the speakers at a Mass Meeting to be held in New York City upon the return of George Novack, National CRDC Secretary from his coast to coast tour. Other speakers will include George Baldanzi, Executive Vice President of the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, Roger Baldwin, Director, American Civil Liberties Union, Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Socialist Party. George Novack, the main speaker, will report on the results of his three-month national tour. The meeting will be held at the Hotel Diplomat on June 8, at 8:15 P. M., admission 25c.

UNION PAPERS

Several official trade union papers recently called upon their thousands of worker-readers, to support the Minneapolis Labor Case. **Advance**, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO on April 15 stated:

"Another indication of the trend of the political times is the conviction of the 18 . . . not for any action on their part, but for their beliefs as members of the Socialist Workers Party. These are the first convictions under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act, the first peace-time statute since 1798 to make the expression of opinion a federal crime. The act was sponsored in 1940 by the same poll-tax Congressman Howard Smith who also co-authored the anti-labor Smith-Connally Act.

"When the U. S. Supreme Court three times refused to review the Minneapolis case, it thereby refused to test the constitutionality of the Smith Act. This now places a legal weapon in the hands of reaction. . . .

**"The Civil Rights Defense Committee, authorized representative of the 18 prisoners, is conducting a national campaign to free the men, repeal the Smith Act and provide relief for the prisoners and their families. A national campaign has been opened to get 10,000 signatures on petitions by July 1. Their headquarters is at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y."**

JUSTICE

**Justice**, organ of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union-AFL on May 1st stated: "In a letter to President Roosevelt, General Manager Israel Feinberg (of the Cloak Joint Board), although expressing sharp disagreement with the political views of the prisoners, stated his belief that the conviction was 'a violation of the Bill of Rights.' He pointed out the close analogy between the principle of the Smith Sedition Act and the Japanese 'dangerous thoughts' doctrine."

**Knitgoods Workers Voice**, organ of the Knitgoods Workers Union Local 155, ILGWU-AFL, whose manager, Louis Nelson, is a member of the National Committee of the Civil Rights Defense Committee wrote on May 5:

"The Union has asked for the release of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners, members of the Teamsters Union and the Socialist Workers Party, who were the first prisoners under the Smith "Gag" bill. Leading liberals, jurists and public minded citizens have protested this imprisonment as undermining our liberties and as being contrary to the provisions of the Constitution."

**104 Reporter, official organ of Boilermakers Local 104, Seattle, Wash. which last week contributed $250 to the Minneapolis Labor Case, on April 27 reported: "Boilermakers Local 104 went on record at the last meeting seeking the pardon of the 18 Minneapolis**

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## Avery Asserts CIO Victory "Does Not Mean A Thing"

**Roosevelt abruptly turned back the Chicago plants of the Montgomery Ward Company to the private owners on May 9 — the very day in which the Ward workers were voting in the NLRB election.**

**"If the election shows that the union has a majority, then the management has declared that it is willing to continue its contract and that will end the case," Roosevelt smugly assured the public.**

The union won the election. Despite the tremendous company barrage against the union and the intimidation of union workers, Local 20 of the CIO Wholesale and Retail Workers Union won by a decisive majority of 2,440 to 1,593. But far from "ending the case" as Roosevelt hypocritically asserted, the union was back where it started. The election settled nothing. The CIO had won nothing but a Pyrrhic victory.

Avery, the stiff-necked tory president of Montgomery Ward Co. contemptuously declared that "the election doesn't mean a thing." He issued a statement immediately a f t e r Roosevelt's, wherein he declared "The only thing the election will settle is whether the union represents a majority of Ward's workers." Avery maintained his previous position that he would not grant "maintenance of membership" to the union.

REIGN OF TERROR

Meanwhile, with the plants back under formal management of the private owners, the company renewed its reign of terror against the union, determined to wipe it out. Avery in addition was going through the identical union-busting strategy in the case of the Hummer Manufacturing Company, a subsidiary of the Montgomery Ward Company at Springfield, Ill. **Here, too, the case has been dragging through litigations and hearings of the War Labor Board for two years until the workers finally in desperation struck last week. The WLB has now referred the case to Roosevelt for compliance with its order directing the company to sign a contract including maintenance of membership provisions.**

Summing up the Ward case thus far: it is clear that the union won the election but the Montgomery Ward Company won the case. First, the union is already in weakened condition and is facing an all-out company barrage. The workers who thought Roosevelt's theatrical "seizure" of the plants would assure them union security received a cruel disillusionment. Avery himself boasted that "during the thirteen days of the seizure no employe was disciplined for failure to maintain union membership, no dues were checked off and no grievances were arbitrated or even adjusted." Business Week, **the organ of the moneybags, gleefully informs its readers that "the union's position**

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## Local Asks End of No-Strike Policy

**FLINT, Mich., May 15.—Chevrolet Local 659, United Automobile Workers-CIO, yesterday adopted a resolution calling for a special convention of the UAW-CIO to revoke the no-strike pledge.**

On the heels of a two-hour strike of one Chevrolet plant, in protest against speedup, intimidation and the firing of two workers, the Local joined the demand already made by a number of UAW locals, demanding an end to the international's policy which has almost completely broken down bargaining procedure. The action was a reversal of the Local executive board recommendation that the resolution be tabled.

This decision of the membership ended a fiery all-afternoon meeting in which the combined pressure of international UAW representatives, local executives and a government spokesman was required to persuade the strikers to return to work today.

* * *

Flint school teachers, maintenance workers and librarians also returned to work Monday after a three-day strike which won them higher salaries and additional help. They had struck after a city election in which a proposed two-mill property tax increase, presumably for schools, was rejected by the voters. That the board of education was then able immediately to meet a part of the demands was proof the additional tax was not necessary.

## SENATE SHAM BATTLE WAGED OVER ANTI-POLL TAX BILL

*By R. Bell*

Once again the U. S. Senate has buried the anti-poll tax bill. On May 15, the vote to close debate was defeated 36 to 44. (It requires a two-thirds vote to win cloture). The supporters of Senator Mead, the pro-Roosevelt Democrat from New York who is supposed to be leading the fight against the poll tax have already indicated that it is unlikely that they will continue with the debate on the poll tax. The Senate has already set aside the bill.

**Everything has gone according to schedule in the Senate. First, the poll tax senators from the "Solid South" embarked on their filibustering rampage against the bill, which would make unlawful the requirement by any State of a poll tax as a perequisite to voting in a primary or other election for national officers. The poll taxers have monopolized the debate since the bill was reported out on May 9.** The New York daily, PM, reports: "The poll taxers are not only doing all the talking, they are running the Senate." The proponents of the measure limited themselves to making feeble gestures of support for the bill; denying that they were "communists" for advocating repeal of the poll tax; remaining silent or just staying away from the Senate chamber while the debate was in progress.

A ROTTEN DEAL

After this performance had gone on for several days, the leader of the Democratic majority, Senator Alben W. Barkley, made a motion to close debate, which was taken on May 15, six days after the debate started. Reports filtering through from Washington speak of a deal made with the poll taxers to withdraw the bill when the vote on cloture is defeated. **The actions of the poll taxers themselves substantiate these reports. They made no attempt to prevent the bill from being reported out on the Senate floor and did not offer any real resistance to the motion to close debate. Knowing these gentry from past performance one can only conclude that a rotten deal had been concluded to scuttle the anti-poll tax bill.**

The nature of the deal was set forth in a newspaper article read into the Congressional Record by poll tax Senator Russell from Georgia. The article, appearing in the Washington **Evening Star** on the day the anti-poll tax bill was introduced, attacked the proposed legislation and concluded by saying: "The supporters of the anti-poll tax bill have been able to line up a majority of the Senate to vote for it—but they have

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## Four British Trotskyists Arrested By Churchill Government In Frameup Drive

*By Ralph Graham*

Moving to head off and stifle the growing radicalization of the British working class, manifested in the recent strikes of coal miners and engineering apprentices, the Tory government of Churchill has struck out again at the British Trotskyists, foremost champions of the rights of labor.

Four members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, British section of the Fourth International, have been arrested and charged with "inciting to strike" under the infamous Trades Disputes Act of 1927, which was passed after the great general strike of 1926 in order to hamstring and **paralyze the labor movement.**

Those jailed are Jock Haston, national secretary of the party; Roy Tearse, national secretary of

HASTON



TEARSE

the Militant Workers' Federation; Ann Keen, Northeast (London) district secretary of the party; and Heaton Lee, former mine organizer of South Africa, who joined the Trotskyist movement **in 1937.**

The arrests followed closely upon raids by Scotland Yard detectives on the national headquarters of the party in London and on district offices and members' homes in Nottingham, Wallsend, Newcastle and Glasgow, in which large quantities of literature were seized and carted off for examination. These raids, the opening gun in the attack on the British Trotskyists, were reported in the **Militant** of April 15.

FIRST PROSECUTION

**Use of the Trades Disputes Act in an effort to railroad the Trotskyists to prison and smash the RCP is the first occasion in the history of British labor that the act has ever been invoked in a prosecution.**

**The act was fought by the** whole British labor movement as a vicious strike-breaking measure at the time of, and ever since its passage. Repeal of the act has always been one of the foremost demands of organized British labor.

Ernest Bevin, minister of labor in His Majesty's Tory government and leader in the current offensive of British capitalism against the working-class, was once a strong opponent of the act when he spoke for the powerful Transport and General Workers' Union. It is the same Bevin who has now invoked this vicious anti-working-class measure in an effort to imprison revolutionary representatives of the workers

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# TRADE UNION NOTES

*By Joseph Keller*

**A year ago, the foremen in the Michigan auto plants set up their organization and made a bid to win union recognition from the companies, to establish collective bargaining procedure and obtain signed contracts.**

On March 22, 1943, The Militant wrote: "In the face of rising living costs, foremen's salaries remain far behind. They have to work long hours overtime, often with little or no overtime pay. The job of enforcing the policies of the corporations on the workers is no longer an easy one. The workers, feeling the power of organization, are no longer the weak, unprotected, disunited and servile mass of yesterday.

"Caught between the fires of organized capital and organized labor, the foremen and subforemen are quite understandably attracted to the idea of organization and a possible alliance with the labor movement. They have seen the unions make forward strides and improve the wages and conditions of their members and they would like to achieve the same results for themselves by organization.

"The shakiness and instability of the capitalist structure, is demonstrated by the fact that such industrial and financial giants as Ford, General Motors, the great coal operators, etc. can no longer hold the loyalty and support by their own authority of the lower ranks of their own managerial personnel. . ."

SOLID FRONT

Under the leadership of General Motors, the auto barons established a solid front in opposition to any foremen's organizations and temporarily defeated the foremen's attempts to win collective bargaining rights. GM sent a telegram on March 18, 1943 to four administrative departments demanding that the government ban the unionization of foremen.

**The government immediately responded. The National Labor Relations Board ruled on May 15, 1943 in its Maryland Drydock decision that foremen did not come under the provisions of the Wagner Act. Temporarily, the foremen were defeated.**

**Today the foremen are making a new and more powerful bid to organize themselves and to win collective bargaining rights with the corporations. 3,300 foremen are on strike in thirteen Detroit plants. The Packard plants are completely shut down as a result of the strike.**

The Foremen's Association of America has already made one crack in the solid employer resistance; the Ford Motor Company signed a one-year contract with the association recognizing it as the sole bargaining agency for Ford foremen, setting up a grievance procedure and guaranteeing seniority rights

The NLRB has already partially reversed its decision of a year ago and stated that foremen are employes and thus come under the Wagner Act in its sections outlawing discriminations, discharges, etc.

REVERSED STAND

The War Labor Board, which has ordered the striking foremen to return to work "forthwith," has likewise reversed its previous stand and agreed to rule on the disputes, and has obtained promises from the corporations that there would be no discrimination against the strikers.

**Despite the action of the Ford Motor Company in recognizing the foremen's association, all the other automotive corporations have formed a united front and refuse to deal with the foremen. The Automotive Council for War Production, representing the big corporations, has been running large advertisements in the country's leading newspapers predicting dire consequences if the foremen are permitted to organize.**

* * *

Chrysler Local 7, UAW-CIO, passed the following resolution (reprinted here in part) on the no-strike pledge and sent copies to the 14 locals of the Chrysler division in the UAW:

WHEREAS: The UAW-CIO gave a No-Strike Pledge and that pledge was given on three conditions: That Industry would bargain in good faith; that Government would provide machinery for fair and speedy settlement of grievances; that a just balance would be kept between wages and the cost of living, and

WHEREAS: The National Manufacturers' Association has taken advantage of this No-Strike Pledge to take away some of the social gains won after years of struggle and refuses to bargain collectively in good faith, also spending millions of dollars planning to smash our Union, the UAW-CIO, and

WHEREAS: The War Labor Board has consistently refused to modify the "Little Steel Formula" even on the face of concrete evidence that the cost of living has risen from 23 percent to 43 percent thereby forcing the workers to take an indirect wage cut, therefore

**BE IT RESOLVED: That Local 7, UAW-CIO petition the International Executive Board to call an immediate conference or convention for the purpose of rescinding the No-Strike Pledge, and also to lay plans to break the "Little Steel Formula."**

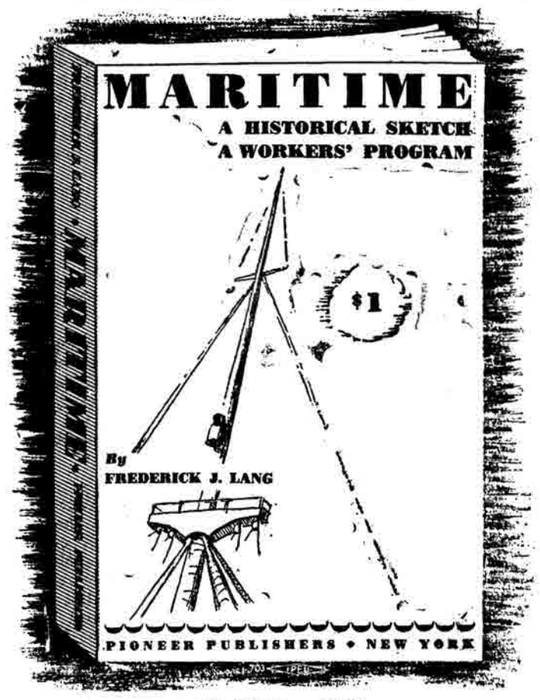
* * *

The great struggles of the coal miners in 1943 demonstrated that the auto, rubber and other mass production workers organized into industrial unions were the best and most reliable allies of the miners. The four great coal strikes also demonstrated that the miners were weakened by their organizational isolation from the rest of the labor movement.

Lewis did not choose to launch an aggressive campaign to break the miners' organizational isolation by fighting for an alliance with the auto, rubber and other mass production unions on the basis of a militant program, enunciated in part by the miners' union during the course of the coal strikes. Instead he concluded a personal agreement with Hutcheson, Woll and several other reactionary, case-hardened labor bureaucrats and applied for readmission to the AFL.

**This attempt to ignore questions of program and forge a unity with the most conservative and moribund section of American labor has now come to grief. Roosevelt proved powerful enough in the councils of the AFL bureaucracy to block Lewis' maneuver.**

**With the failure of the AFL Executive Council to act on the miners' application, now pending for a year, at its May 5 meeting, Lewis issued a blast against the AFL Executive Council and withdrew the UMW application.**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# Second Thousand New 'Militant' Readers Obtained In Campaign

**The phenomenal weekly increase in subscriptions continues. The last week has resulted in new record-breaking sales. We thought the peak had been reached last week with a total of 489 subs, but this week the branches sent in 688 subs, an average of 114 a day!**

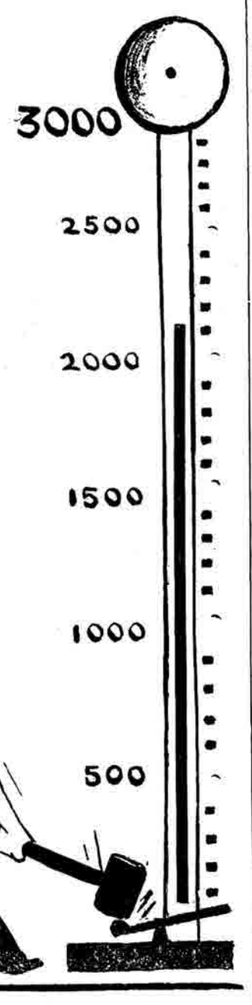
OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WEEK

**Buffalo continues to hold first place with 260%.**

**Newark moved from thirteenth place to second on the scoreboard with 190%.**

**New York for the third week in succession sent in the greatest number of subs—256.**

FROM OUR MAIL BAG




**Toledo:** "The Toledo Branch last night voted to accept the challenge of Reading. The Reading Branch sounds very cocky but Toledo feels that we can beat Reading and Philadelphia. May the best branch win."

**Minneapolis:** "The branch voted last night to enter race with West Side Branch (New York Local) and Chicago on subscriptions."

**Chicago:** "Have accepted challenge of West Side Branch (New York Local) despite slow start. Before end of campaign you will realize that you have been in the fight of your collective lives."

**Newark:** "Despite a heavy downpour, our Sunday mobilization was a success with 109 subs sold. All the comrades were drenched, but came back with high spirits and decided to call another mobilization in two weeks to get at least 240 subs which will be 300% of our quota."

**Boston:** "The spirit of the comrades here is fine. They have gotten really enthused over the sub campaign. Results have been especially good in the Italian district and in the colored district. The results are surprising us."

**East Side Branch (Local New York):** "We were somewhat slow in getting started in the campaign, but we can report that we have already fulfilled 105% of our quota of 175—and our members are just warming up. We should hit 400%."

**St. Paul:** "At last we've made a beginning in the campaign. These fifteen subs are the result of 1½ hours' door-to-door work of three comrades. We covered three blocks on one side of the street."

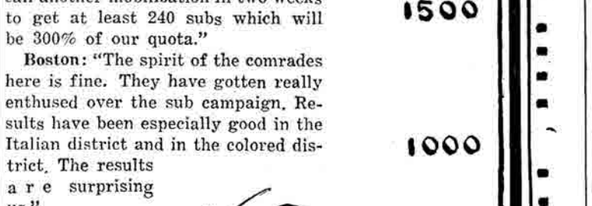
**Philadelphia:** "I sent a sympathizer two sub cards to sell. He sold them and wants fifteen more. . . We have set ourselves a goal of 100 subs for the drive."

**San Francisco:** "The twenty-one trial subs were obtained by three couples in about 1½ hours' time. This finishes our coverage of the housing project (predominantly Negro) I mentioned in my last letter. We are next going to try another project in another part of the city."

Detroit: **"Two of the comrades are competing with each other in getting subs. One has 77; the other 59. They are both on the same team. Tonight at our meeting the team challenged the entire branch in the 300 quota. Everybody sure is plugging and we hope to get triple our quota. Of course, that is a bit optimistic but the way things are going, I believe we can do it."**

* * *

The optimistic returns of this week can only spur the branches to increased efforts, **which will assure the completion of our quota for 3,000 new readers far ahead of schedule.**




Even though the branches have been concentrating upon getting subscriptions to **The Militant** in our campaign for 3,000 new readers by June 30, they have not overlooked the importance of getting renewal subscriptions and carrying out regular distributions. We quote from some of the letters:

**San Francisco:** "Two of us went out on renewals Sunday and the results were most heartening. The main difficulty is finding the people at home. Of the eight homes visited, two renewed, four were not in, one had moved (we have the new address now and will follow up), and **only one** was not interested in renewing. And, while in the process of getting renewals, we also managed to secure one new 6-month sub from a visitor in one of the homes. In both cases, the people were eager to renew their subscriptions, said they had been expecting us to call and needed no 'sales talk' from us. It seems as though after getting the paper for six months or more, they've got the habit!"

**Boston:** "We are checking up on the old sub expirations. We have obtained two renewals in this period and expect to get some more if we can find the people in."

**Chicago:** "We are distributing **The Militant** to auto plants in this area each week. Sometime during June, after the workers have become well acquainted with the paper, we are going to attach a leaflet with a sub blank on the bottom to each copy (which they can clip off and send in) telling them why they should subscribe."

**Los Angeles:** "Distribution of **The Militant** has now reached the point where we are able to feel that something is happening, and more and more people are being drawn into the work. . . . There are three more newsstands now which carry the paper and 'Socialism on Trial'; we will also place the F. I. on these newsstands."

* * *

**The latest report from our Milwaukee agent ends with these sincere words of praise: "Bouquets to The Militant! The May Day issue was even better than the normally fine paper."**

* * *

Natalia Trotsky in a recent letter expressed the reaction of all our readers upon hearing of the six-page **Militant**:

"I was very happy to learn that the paper is going into six pages. That is a very hopeful and inspiring sign. It shows that our friends, deprived of some of our forces, want to and are able to work still harder, doubling and tripling their activities in order to carry on the common tasks. This fact must give courage also to those who are in prison. . . . **And another good piece of news was that of the publications which are under way. In this joyless period of the world, that makes up for much of the pain.**"

## SCOREBOARD

| | Quota | Subs | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Buffalo | 50 | 133 | 260 |
| Newark | 80 | 152 | 190 |
| Reading | 30 | 46 | 153 |
| New York | 500 | 698 | 140 |
| Philadelphia | 30 | 36 | 120 |
| Toledo | 30 | 32 | 106 |
| Detroit | 300 | 311 | 104 |
| Boston | 100 | 90 | 90 |
| Seattle | 150 | 135 | 90 |
| Allentown | 15 | 12 | 80 |
| San Francisco | 150 | 97 | 65 |
| Milwaukee | 15 | 8 | 53 |
| St. Paul | 50 | 22 | 44 |
| New Haven | 25 | 10 | 40 |
| Youngstown | 50 | 19 | 38 |
| Cleveland | 50 | 18 | 36 |
| Los Angeles | 400 | 140 | 35 |
| Minneapolis | 200 | 69 | 34 |
| Bayonne | 50 | 10 | 20 |
| Chicago | 200 | 34 | 17 |
| Members-at-Large, Friends | 355 | 56 | 16 |
| Flint | 15 | 2 | 13 |
| Akron | 40 | 5 | 13 |
| San Diego | 50 | 4 | 8 |
| Pittsburgh | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Quakertown | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Rochester | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| St. Louis | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Texas | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTALS | 3,000 | 2,139 | 71 |

# Senators Wage Sham Battle Over Anti-Poll Tax Bill

(Continued from page 1)

failed, according to the polls of sentiment, to get a necessary two-thirds of the Senators to support a cloture resolution. Without cloture the bill cannot be brought to a vote. The prospects are for a week of debate, a vote on cloture, which will fail, and ultimate laying aside of the measure."

SHAM BATTLE

The course of the sham battle on the anti-poll tax bill has been predicted from the start and has proceeded according to schedule. A similar measure was filibustered to death in the closing hours of the Congressional session last year. To conduct a similar tactic now, in the midst of a session, thus preventing the consideration of other legislation would create a tremendous public reaction. Such a development could easily become a major political issue and prove embarrassing to both the Republican and Democratic parties, neither of whom have any serious intention of conducting a real struggle against the poll tax. **The mock battle now taking place in the Senate is deliberately staged to screen the treacherous political bargain made to quash the anti-poll tax bill.**

While the Democratic and Republican puppets went through their performance in the Senate, a farcical by play was carried on outside. The liberals and Stalinists, who support the administration, are trying to put the Republican governor of New York, Thomas E. Dewey, on the spot for his pussyfooting stand on the bill. Dewey, probable presidential candidate of the Republican party in the coming election, in responding to inquiries, stated he was opposed to the payment of a poll tax as a requirement to vote. This vague statement is, of course, meaningless and doubly so in Dewey's case in view of his record of having blocked the adoption of effective anti-discrimination legislation by the New York legislature.

AGAINST CLOTURE

The formula used by a number of the politicians who pretend to favor the anti-poll tax bill is that while they support the bill they are opposed to cloture. Cloture, you see, is "undemocratic" while the poll tax which deprives approximately 10,000,000 citizens of the right to vote is of the essence of capitalist democracy! The liberals and Stalinists have directed their main fire at Dewey and demanded that he commit himself in favor of cloture and use his influence to swing Republican support behind the cloture resolution. But not a word was even whispered, not a breath of criticism was directed at the titular head of the Democratic party, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. What is his position on cloture? Where does he stand on the anti-poll tax issue? **No one knows—no one even makes bold to ask! At least no one from the camp of the liberals and Stalinists.**

There has been no indication, by word or deed, of Roosevelt's attitude on the anti-poll tax bill. The poll tax Senator of Louisiana, Ellender, who held the floor in a filibuster against an anti-lynching bill for 6 days several years ago, and who boasted that he was prepared to speak for 100 hours in an effort to kill the present poll tax bill, did raise the question of Roosevelt's attitude. Mr. Ellender said he did not believe that President Roosevelt, altho voicing opposition to poll taxes, favored the pending bill. Lacking any evidence to the contrary, it is only reasonable to assume that Ellender is correct in his assumption.

All of the poll-tax Senators who have ganged together to kill the measure are Democrats. As a unit they are the most powerful group in the Democratic party. Like Dewey, Roosevelt finds it politically expedient to limit his opposition to the payment of poll taxes to vague and meaningless generalities. **The supporters of the administration, who rant at Dewey and keep quiet about Roosevelt, are nothing but shabby political heelers trying to cloak "their" candidate's responsibility for the perpetuation of the poll tax system.**

BULWARK OF REACTION

The poll tax system is a bulwark of reaction and an integral part of Wall Street's domination over the economic and political life of the nation. By disfranchising the overwhelming majority of Negro and White workers, the poll tax system serves to remove all restraint from the political caste which functions as the open and direct agent of Big Business. When the Democratic party is in power, the poll taxers, by virtue of the seniority acquired by being returned to Congress year after year because the mass of people in the "Solid South" are deprived of a vote, are placed at the head of the most powerful Congressional committees. These committees dominate the Congress. Much of the anti-labor legislation originating in Congress is initiated by the poll taxers who function as the spearhead of reaction. **The real rulers of this country, the sixty families who have concentrated the wealth of the nation in their hands and thereby control both major parties, find the poll tax system a useful medium of prolonging their political control. It is from these rulers that both the Republicans and Democrats take their orders.**

ABOLISH POLL TAX

No political party or politician that serves the interests of Big Business can conduct an effective struggle against the poll tax. It is only those who suffer under this system, the workers both black and white, in alliance with all the victims of capitalist reaction, who can demolish the vicious poll tax system. **By its very nature a political struggle, the fight against the poll tax will really begin when labor organizes its own political party and places in its program the demand: abolish the poll tax system!**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# Brewster CIO Union Leaders Join CRDC

(Continued from page 1)

**labor leaders who were sent to the penitentiary under the operation of the vicious Smith "Gag" Act. The Union authorized Secretary Joe Clancy to write President Roosevelt urging pardon.**

NOVACK SPEECH

"The action was taken by the Local following a speech made by George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Novack explained why the men were jailed and pointed out the unfair tactics used in making the case that sent them to jail . . . the men were jailed because they upheld the finest traditions of unionism—not because they betrayed the members of their union. Following the meeting of Local 104, Novack also addressed a mass meeting at which Nick Hughes, Assistant Secretary of Local 104 was a speaker."

Local 205 of the Brewers Union, Minneapolis, Minn., in addition to contributing to the CRDC and passing a resolution of support, have bought 100 pamphlets "Who Are the 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case" for their membership and have offered to circulate petitions, declaring they expect to receive at least 400 signatures. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers-CIO of Buffalo and the American Federation of Hosiery Workers Local 49-CIO, Irvington, N. J. have sent signed petitions to the National Office of the CRDC.

**The Jewish Forward on April 17 protested the imprisonments: "All progressive and liberal elements in the U. S. are now very much interested in the movement to aid in freeing the 18. . . . Under no circumstances shall we allow that to think, speak, write shall constitute a criminal offense."**

CONTRIBUTORS

Among the recent contributors to the CRDC are: UAW-CIO Ford Local 50, Ypsilanti, Mich., United Furniture Workers, CIO, Local 262, San Francisco, Cal., United Rubber Workers, CIO, Local 5, Akron, O., United Hospital and University Workers, Chicago, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America-AFL, Locals 442 and 261, N. Y., United Construction Workers Local 1244, Portland, Ore., Rochester Railroad Council, Rochester, N. Y., White Goods Workers Local 76, ILGWU-AFL, Chicago, Ill., Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, Irvington, N. J., United Transport Service Employes, CIO, Local 706, Boston, Mass., Railroad Workers Joint Action Committee, Oakland, Cal., Workmen's Benefit Fund, 102, San Francisco, Cal.

Workmen's Circle Branches which have sent recent contributions are: No. 136, N. Y., No. 182, Bronx, N. Y., No. 322, Brooklyn, N. Y., No. 87, Brooklyn, N. Y., No. 166, Milwaukee, Wisc., No. 117, Schenectady, N. Y. No. 209, Philadelphia, Pa., No. 655, Los Angeles, Calif., No. 281, Woodridge, N. J., No. 33, Bronx, N. Y., No. 335 E. Newark, N. J., No. 207-B., Atlanta, Ga., No. 987, Chicago, Ill., No. 945, Detroit, Mich., No. 156, Detroit, Mich.


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# Four British Trotskyists Arrested On Frameup Charges As Churchill Intensifies Drive To Crush Labor Upsurge

(Continued from page 1)

and stifle the Trotskyist movement.

**Arrest of the four British Trotskyist leaders was preceded and accompanied by a rabid press campaign in which the Trotskyists were depicted as sinister, underground plotters, engaged in fomenting strikes in key industries in order to hamper Britain's war effort.**

FRAMEUP CAMPAIGN

In concocting this campaign, the capitalist press characteristically ignored the volumes of clear-cut evidence that the recent strikes were the outgrowth of a widespread revolt in the ranks of labor against the increasingly intolerable living and working conditions, and that the Trotskyists had openly avowed their solidarity with the workers.

The Tory newspapers of Northcliffe and Beaverbrook got busy in the sleuth-like manner of fictional detectives, hinted darkly at "secret funds" coming from abroad to help the Trotskyists undermine the "loyalty" of British labor to the British imperialist war effort.

They ignored statements of the Trotskyists that their activities,

LEE KEEN

including the publication of their organ, the **Socialist Appeal**, were supported solely by the contributions of self-sacrificing worker-militants and continued along the line of attempting to expose a "sinister conspiracy."

1. On March 30 the London **Daily Sketch** reported: "The strike of apprentices in certain engineering and shipbuilding establishments on Tyneside is believed to have been caused by the activities of a mystery man."

2. On March 31 the same paper wrote: "Behind the strikes that have involved more than 26,000 apprentices in British shipyards and engineering shops is a highly developed strike-promoting organization. At the head of this organization is a young man with headquarters in London. . . The organization led by this mystery man has been disavowed by the Communist Party of Great Britain, who ally the movement with 'Trotskyist attempts to disrupt the engineering industry and the engineering unions.'"

3. Five days later, the **Sketch** "solved" the riddle of the "mystery man" in a story captioned "YARD SOLVES RIDDLE OF STRIKE FUNDS". This story read, in part: "Nation-wide attention has been aroused by the **Daily Sketch** revelations of the Trotskyite activities behind the strikes in the coalfields, the shipyards and heavy industries in the North. Mr. Herbert Morrison (Minister of Home Security) was yesterday considering these Trotskyites. He had before him a full report on certain movements compiled by Scotland Yard's Special Branch, who have solved the mystery of the secret source of the funds that have enabled agitators to travel the industrial areas canvassing support for their movement and advising on strike development."

**Thus in the course of a week, the "mystery man" with the "secret funds" turns out to be the public functioning organization of the Trotskyists. In the process of unravelling, the threads of this "mystery" passed from the struck coalfields and shipyards, through the offices of the Communist Party — to the police headquarters at Scotland Yard!**

"RED SCARE"

The elements of this "Red Scare" are of a piece with the great frame-up of the Tory press which 20 years ago was used as a lever for repression against the revolutionary movement. In that frame-up the Tory press forged a letter in the name of Zinoviev, then chairman of the Communist International and used this to prove the existence of a Moscow-directed plot to overthrow the British government.

The "Zinoviev Letter" was proved, conclusively, to be a forgery, but the British capitalist class made full use of it before the exposure was made, against the labor movement.

NEW UPSURGE

**At that time the British workers were beginning to recover their militancy after the fearful post-war depression. A rising resurgence put MacDonald and the other British labor party leaders in office and strengthened the trade unions in preparation for the great General Strike of 1926. Affrighted by the spectacle of the growing militancy of the workers, the British capitalist class resorted to the method of frame-up in a desperate effort to halt the tide that was rising to swamp them.**

Today, the workers are stirring once again. The great coal and engineering strikes are the harbingers of the coming revolutionary storm. British labor is breaking away from the leading-strings of capitalism. The servile labor flunkeys in Churchill's cabinet, the Bevins and the Morrisons, are finding it increasingly difficult to serve their capitalist masters by holding the workers in check. The tide of the class struggle is washing up menacingly against the dykes of class-collaboration which the capitalists and the labor fakers erected. And so once again the method of the "Red Scare" is employed.

IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE

In embarking upon a general offensive against the workers, the capitalists always single out the revolutionary vanguard for the first attack. Roosevelt's government prosecuted and jailed the 18 trade union militants and members of the Socialist Workers Party in the famous Minneapolis case in an attempt to deprive the American workers of their revolutionary voice. **This was the opening gun in the offensive against the labor movement in this country which has grown from month to month. The violent campaign against the British Trotskyists and the jailing of its leaders and members pursues a similar aim.**

But there is an important difference between the two cases. The Minneapolis case opened on the eve of America's entry into the imperialist war and was in the nature of a preventive action. The persecution of the British Trotskyists takes place after five years of the imperialist slaughter, at a time when the war-weary English workers are breaking loose from the restraints imposed on them by the capitalists and are taking once more to the road of independent class action.

The British Tory government and its "labor" henchmen will not succeed in strangling the working-class movement. The British workers will see in the persecution of the Trotskyists the dirty designs of the British capitalists to destroy their movement, the first step which is the jailing of its most loyal, energetic and class-conscious fighters.

**All the workers must and will rally to their aid against the reactionary capitalist class. The ILP conference at Leeds meeting in April passed, unanimously, a resolution, condemning the arrest of the Trotskyists. The resolution repudiated the smear campaign of the Tory press against the Trotskyists and placed full responsibility for the strikes on the shoulders of the Tory government and the capitalist class, whose intolerable exploitation and oppression have alone been responsible for the upsurge of working-class revolt.**

This is only the beginning. The reactionary offensive of British capitalism must be met by united and vigorous defense of the Trotskyists by the whole labor movement. "An injury to one is an injury to all!"

Jock Haston, Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party, wrote just before his arrest, when Tearse, Heaton, Lee and Ann Keen had already been imprisoned:

**"In the coming days we believe that millions of workers will seek the solution to the social problems along the road we have outlined. Despite the sensational raids and arrests; in face of the slanders and lies, our Party—the** Revolutionary Communist Party, **will keep the banner of International Socialism aloft. We are confident the masses will rally to that Banner."**

**The British capitalist press has eagerly joined the Churchill government's persecutions of the British Trotskyists. The newspaper scareheads reproduced above disclose the red-baiting campaign which has reached, especially in London, proportions that vividly recall a similar campaign during the 1926 General Strike.**

# Anglo-American Alliance Torn By Inner Conflict

*By James Cowan*

The British and American capitalists are joined in a coalition to enable them to prosecute to a victorious conclusion the war against their Axis rivals. Nevertheless there are frequent reminders in day to day events that the antagonism between the two partners, springing from their economic rivalries has by no means disappeared — that, on the contrary, it continues and grows and may become, under changed conditions, the powder keg of a new explosion.

Due to the need for maintaining a minimum of unity in order to win out in the present conflict against the immediate enemy, the antagonism between the two Powers seldom rises above a muted friction. Occasionally, however, it bursts forth even during the war into strident notes of open hostility.

A few months ago the British imperialists were raising a clamor over plans by American aviation companies to monopolize for themselves the principal commercial airlanes of the world. Now they are alarmed by the decision of the U. S. Government to build pipe-lines from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean to enable the Standard, Texas and Gulf companies to exploit the oil riches of Saudi Arabia.

"INCREDULOUS"

According to a London dispatch to the **New York Times** on March 22, the British capitalists were "incredulous" when they first heard of the project and voiced "anxiety over the strategic implications of the pipe-line, with emphasis on a possible American naval base in the Mediterranean."

While the youth of America is being slaughtered on the battlefields in this war for "democracy" and the "four freedoms," American monopoly capitalism does not forget for a single moment the real aims and purposes of the war. It is engaged in parcelling out the world, earmarking areas all over the globe where it intends to seize natural riches and rob the peoples. The Arabian oil project is but one example of this policy of grabbing and looting.

**The essential purpose of the present war is a new division of the world in accordance with the actual strength of the imperialist states. Britain's world supremacy was challenged in the war of 1914-18.** It was challenged precisely because Britain's economic power was on the decline. The swollen British Empire had become an anachronism. Victory over German imperialism in the first world war enabled Britain to retain her Empire, but it could not restore her economic leadership, which had passed irrevocably to the United States.

GREATER ANTAGONISM

The first world war resolved, for a time, the antagonism between British and German imperialism, but only to give place to a still greater antagonism between British imperialism and the mammoth imperialism of America. Had German imperialism not succeeded in resurrecting and rehabilitating itself, the imperialist "democracies" — Britain and America—would have probably become the principal antagonists of the second world war. **By an irony of history, the decrepit British Empire is now doomed to liquidation by its own ally across the Atlantic.**

In the 1920's, when Germany was threshing about helplessly in the mire of the post-war crisis and the entanglements of the Versailles treaty, there was almost continuous conflict between London and Washington. It expressed itself in quarrels over naval armament, oil diplomacy and international trade. Lloyd George declared in the British Parliament in 1928 that he was "frankly alarmed over our relations with America." Another British parliamentarian, Samuel Samuel, told the House of Commons: "We cannot trust the United States. She is trying to dominate Great Britain."

RUSSELL'S BOOK

Bertrand Russell wrote a book, "Prospects of Industrial Civilization," in which he said: **"Of course it is obvious that the next Power to make a bid for world empire will be America. America may not, as yet, consciously desire such a position, but no nation with sufficient resources can long resist the attempt. And the resources of America are more adequate than those of any previous aspirant to universal hegemony."**

The theme of Anglo-American rivalry dominated the speeches of capitalist politicians, the dickerings of the imperialist chancelleries, and the writings of political commentators. Ludwell Denny brought out a book, "America Conquers Britain," relating in detail how Britain had lost her economic supremacy and been forced to yield first place to the colossus of American imperialism. **He considered war between Britain and America was practically inevitable.** The rivalry between British and American imperialism also found a prominent place in the literature of revolutionary Marxism, especially in the writings of Trotsky.

Britain's decline as a world power had begun even before the first world war. The British capitalists had forged their world hegemony in the 19th century on an early and rapid development of manufacturing industry made possible by abundant supplies of coal and iron. With a navy which was supreme after the Napoleonic wars they sought out and subdued distant places which they converted into colonies. The colonies furnished them with food and raw materials and a market for the products of their industry.

20th CENTURY

In the 20th century Britain's long start over her rivals became a liability. Her rivals, more nearly self-supporting in food and better equipped with raw materials, were able to organize industry along more modern, more efficient lines.

**Britain's economic decline was foreshadowed in the field of international trade. Her share of world trade dropped between 1875 and 1913 from 21.6 percent to 15.3 percent—and that without much competition from America. Capitalism in this country was at that time still busy developing the frontier regions of the continent. The country's foreign trade was small, with a preponderance of imports over exports, and even capital was still coming from overseas.**

U. S. CAPITALISM

The first world war gave tremendous impetus to the development of America's productive plants. While Britain's largely archaic economy was strained to the utmost by the war, the American economy, utilizing abundant natural resources and the newest techniques, forged steadily ahead. American capitalism emerged from the war stronger by far than any of its rivals. By 1930 it was producing 39 percent of the world's coal, 35 percent of the hydro-electric power, practically all the natural gas, 71 percent of the oil, 60 percent of the wheat and cotton, 55 percent of the timber, 38 percent of the lead and phosphates, 50 percent or more of the copper, iron and steel.

Contrasting with this position, England had to import 80 percent of her wheat and flour, 60 percent of her meat, 35 percent of her iron, 90 percent of her timber and wool, and all of her cotton, copper, nickel and oil. In the field of electric power, the most important requisite for modern industry, Britain's production in 1925 was only 282 units per head of the population as compared with America's 710 units.

**What Britain's declining economic position meant in terms of world trade is illustrated by the fact that her exports in the period between 1913 and 1928 decreased five percent, while American exports increased by 48 percent.**

BRITISH FATE

"We are fighting for our lives in world markets," Lord Riddell told a convention of British advertising men in 1929. "Our fate as a nation depends on extending and developing our trade."

A system of imperial preferences was worked out to preserve at least the British colonies from the inroads being made by the American trader, but American big business with its cheaper and more attractive product breached every tariff wall which British ingenuity could devise. Moreover, the American capitalists retaliated against Britain's efforts to keep her empire a closed trading preserve by enacting the Tariff Act of 1922 which was avowedly directed against British imports.

British capitalism was fighting a losing battle against its Yankee rival. Canada became the best market for American exports and Britain's share of foreign capital invested in that dominion fell rapidly while the American share increased. The dollar gradually replaced the pound as the most stable medium of international exchange. Wall Street replaced the City of London as the financial center of the world.

Commencing with 1933, the year of Hitler's rise to power, German imperialism began lifting itself up by its bootstraps, and several years later again made its bid for world hegemony. Wall Street had the same aims and thus the second world war became inevitable. In this way, was postponed the imminent showdown between Britain and the U.S. in the face of the more immediate menace of unbridled German imperialism.

BRITISH DECLINE

**As events have transpired, prosecution of the war against Germany in coalition with Britain, has enabled the American imperialists to advance quite far toward their goal of world domination without actually fighting their British rivals. Weakened British imperialism has been compelled to lean ever more heavily on the Wall Street colossus and this has enabled American business to penetrate further and further into the preserves of the British Empire.** Together with the planes, tanks and guns going to India, Australia, New Zealand, Africa and the Middle East under lend-lease are sent boatloads of American-made consumption goods and capital goods of all kinds. These new markets will not be peaceably relinquished after the war. On the contrary, American capitalism intends to expand and extend its markets and spheres of influence.

Meanwhile, the Wall Street tycoons have also acquired strategic bases in British possessions. There can likewise be no question of peaceably relinquishing these once Hitler is vanquished. American imperialism does not advance only in order to retreat from positions won. To insure profits, markets are necessary. To guarantee the markets, military and naval bases are indispensable.

**This is what the war is about.**

# Two Party System Designed To Maintain Capitalist Political Control Over Labor

*By C. Thomas*

**There are two kinds of labor supporters of Roosevelt: the labor lackeys who give unqualified support to Roosevelt; who proclaim him the "greatest liberal and friend of labor" that ever walked the earth; who shield him from responsibility for the reactionary anti-labor measures fostered by his administration by perverting the facts and distorting the record; who busy themselves refurbishing and renovating his "liberalism" after every blow struck at the labor movement. Then there are the so-called "critical" supporters of the President.** The latter, usually found in secondary positions of leadership in the unions and thus more sensitive to the moods, sentiments and pressure of the ranks, are constrained to express public criticism of Roosevelt's reactionary measures but arrive at the same conclusion as the "unqualified" supporters; namely, that Labor must continue to support Roosevelt!

Writing in the January 26 issue of **Aero-Notes**, the official paper of the Brewster Aircraft Local 365 UAW-CIO, Jerry Harris, sums up the position of the "critical" supporters. Harris begins an indictment of Roosevelt's labor policy by saying: "President Roosevelt's recommendation to Congress that it pass a National Service or Draft Labor Bill should make it quite clear to those who have doubted it, just what road he is travelling." Harris, stigmatizing Roosevelt's forced labor proposal as a "stab in the back" correctly adds that "the President is bidding for the support of the middle class and the outright reactionary forces." "This is not the first time," Harris recalls, "that Labor has been turned upon by the President. We recall his plague on both your houses' declaration, his 'work or fight' order and his Smith-Connally veto message."

**Just to fill out the record we might add to the indictment: the "hold-the-line" wage freeze in the face of the rise in the cost of living; the attempt to crush the coal miners' strike; the use of federal troops in the railway wage dispute; the use of troops to break the strike of the North American Aircraft Workers; the endorsement of the Baruch Plan for the relief of the greedy; discrimination against Negro workers in the armed forces; etc., etc., etc. After establishing the fact that Roosevelt has "stabbed labor in the back" and is "bidding for the support of the outright reactionary forces," Harris asks the question: "In the light of these observations just what conclusions must the Labor movement draw?"**

THE INDICTMENT

The first conclusion drawn by Harris from his indictment of Roosevelt is that: "Obviously we can't support a Willkie or a Dewey or for that matter any Republican party-line candidate." Second: "Obvious too is the fact that Labor cannot put up its own candidate for President." Third: "Which to us means that, as of today, Labor will be forced to continue its critical support of President Roosevelt despite the face slaps and that, come election day, will be forced to get out the vote for Roosevelt on the basis of electing the better of two candidates." While the first conclusion does not flow from the facts presented, it should be obvious to any politically conscious worker that the reason for rejecting "any Republican party-line candidate" is that the Republican party represents the interests of the exploiting class. It is a tool of Big Business and any candidate receiving the support of that party would be beholden to Wall Street and would continue the anti-labor course as set down by Harris in his indictment of Roosevelt.

ONE MASTER

But for the same reason, it should be "obvious" that Labor cannot support "any Democratic party-line candidate." Both parties serve the same master. The two-party system, by creating the illusion of a democratic choice, serves to perpetuate the political control of Big Business by siphoning the discontent of the working masses into the channels of one or another political agency of the ruling class. **The "labor statesmen" aid in fostering this illusion by limiting the choice of the workers to the "lesser" of two evils. Such labor politics have been the mainstay of the two-party system. A system in which the slave is given the freedom to choose "the better of two" agents of the same master!**

"Unlike our own position," says Harris, "which was that of critical support, many labor people gave him (Roosevelt) their unqualified support, going so far as to give, what we termed, 'a blank check for 1944'." Harris sees a marked difference where very little difference exists. And here we come to the crux of the matter. A candidate can be nominated only on the grounds of a definite program. The program will be adopted by the Democratic convention and will be written by the political bosses who control the party—not the least influential of whom are the notoriously anti-labor poll taxers of the "solid south." To announce six months in advance of the presentation of the program, that labor will have to get the vote out for Roosevelt come election day, no matter how "critically" it is done, amounts to nothing more nor less than giving the Democratic "party-line candidate" a blank check.

POLITICAL PARTY

The interests of the class are embodied in the program. The instrument for carrying the program into action is the political party. It would require a microscopic eye to discern any essential difference in the programs of the Republican and Democratic parties which represent the interests of the same ruling class. Independent labor political action consists in formulating the interests of the working class in programmatic form, organizing a political party and appealing to the victims of capitalist class oppression, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the people, for support. The argument advanced by the "practical" labor politicians is that by running its own candidates on its own program, labor risks losing whatever influence it may have had with the party that is victorious in the elections. **The truth of the matter is that the only impression labor has ever made on either of the major parties has been by the simple expedient of throwing the fear of God and the wrath of man into that party.**

The CIO Political Action Committee claims to have a sum in excess of $700,000 to spend on the coming elections. The CIO has a national organization of over 5,000,000 members. By spending its money, time and energy in organizing an Independent Labor Party on a program that meets the needs of the overwhelming majority of the people, there is no good reason why labor "cannot put up its own candidate for President." Whether or not such a candidate is immediately elected is not decisive. The movement would rally a huge protest vote of those who have been made the victims of the politics of both major parties. Such an expression of protest would have infinitely greater significance

**The failure of the labor movement to organize its own political party and run candidates on its own program, can only result as it did in the past few elections in the shift of a large section of the lower middle class to the Republican camp as a protest against the policies of the administration and the passive protest of large numbers of workers who stay away from the polls because they see no difference between the Democratic tweedle-dee and the Republican tweedle-dum.**

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**The Struggle for Negro Equality**

*by*

**John Saunders and Albert Parker**

*Contents:*

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2. The Anti-Negro Terror in Detroit
3. The Harlem Outbreak—A Protest Against Jim Crow
4. Trotsky and the American Negro Struggle

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# Steel Union Delegates Flay No-Strike Policy

(Continued from page 1)

where. And Murray cannot conceal from them the truth that despite all the fine-sounding resolutions, the indignant protests against the injustices imposed on the steel workers, the elaborate program of demands, the convention failed to adopt and set in motion the one thing the dissatisfied rank and file are seeking—a real program of fighting union action that will bring results.

**For stripped of all its flowery phrases, the only program of "action" adopted by the convention under the whipping and prodding of Murray and his machine is to accept without effective resistance the intolerable provocations of the corporations, to rely exclusively on the War Labor Board where the steel union's demands are being stalled indefinitely, as even Murray indicated, and to dutifully vote once more for Roosevelt as the "only leader labor can trust."**

For almost two days the delegates had been subjected to a relentless pounding by Murray, his top lieutenants and sundry guest speakers on the need to reaffirm the no-strike pledge, unreservedly approve Murray's conduct of the union's wage case before the WLB and go "all-out" in working for the reelection of Roosevelt.

Whatever opposition might have existed appeared to be thoroughly stifled and cowed. Murray rode high, completely dominating the convention. He seized every opportunity for another lengthy oration, intervening at the first intimation of discussion from the floor. His speeches alone took well over half the convention's time, and his right-hand henchmen and guest speakers monopolized most of the remaining time. Murray had over 500 of his own pay-roll machine men seated as delegates, who intimidated and shouted down other delegates. Out of over 2,300 delegates, not more than 40 had the chance to speak during the entire convention, and their total time on the floor did not exceed five hours. Every time a delegate spoke, even on the most minor question, Murray would begin pacing up and down the long stage, nervously apprehensive lest any discussion lead to an expression of opposition sentiment.

By the afternoon of the second day of the convention, the delegates appeared to have been lulled into a state of complete apathy. The "Report of Officers," on which some opposition had been expected, had been slicked through without a murmur. Murray decided the time was ripe for introducing the resolutions, drafted by a hand-picked committee headed by Van Bittner, one of the four top officers.

## RECEIVED COPIES ONLY BEFORE DISCUSSION

Although the resolutions had been prepared several days before the convention, the delegates received copies of them only a few minutes before the discussion began. A delegate managed to get the floor and humbly suggested that the resolutions be held over until the next morning, to give the delegates a chance to study them. **Slurringly, Murray sharply declared, "We'd all like a day off. But this is a working convention, and there's a war on." The presentation of resolutions proceeded.**

The first two resolutions were passed without comment. One was just an elaborate expression of praise for Murray himself. The other endorsed the Anti-Poll Tax Bill. Murray's resolution reaffirming the no-strike pledge was then introduced. There was a slight stir, a dutiful flurry of applause from the machine delegates. Murray's eyes ranged intently back and forth over the delegates. All appeared serene.

A delegate took the floor, speaking in favor of the resolution, striking the usual patriotic note. There was mild applause.

Then Mark L. Brown, youthful president of Local 2715, Reading, Pa., a member of the resolutions committee, stepped up to the "mike." He stated that he had not known he was a member of the resolutions committee until after his name had been announced in the convention. But if he had had the opportunity to attend the drafting of the resolutions he would have opposed reaffirming the no-strike pledge.

**Immediately, an electric tension seemed to run through the convention. There were some boos from the machine men, and remarks of "sit down," and "throw him out." But Brown was not deterred. As he spoke, the hall became very silent.**

**He proposed that the convention "withdraw the no-strike pledge and be prepared to permit use of the strike weapon after all other means of settlement have failed." For the first time, there was a considerable applause. Murray's face began to turn beet-colored. He started pacing.**

After telling of the destructive advantage the employers are taking of the no-strike pledge, Brown continued: "Let us end the unfair and cowardly campaign against workers' rights being conducted in the United States." A regular volley of applause swept the convention.

"I call to the delegates' attention that with the no-strike pledge as it exists it is placing the onus for any work stoppage on our members and officers, no matter what the cause" he stated. "We have given to our enemies a weapon in the public press that is not justified in that it is not a single-edged sword but a double-edged sword that strikes back at us and not at the employers."

## "WE WILL NOT BUCKLE DOWN"

**In ringing words that evoked a real thunder of applause, he concluded: "We must serve notice on these American fascists who are preparing new forms of slavery for us that we will not buckle down to that slavery."**

Murray, visibly disturbed and red-faced, quickly strode to the "mike", after Van Bittner failed to get any enthusiastic response on his no-strike plea.

Murray used every trick of oratory, every threat and demagogic appeal he could muster to beat the delegates back into line. His voice rose to a shout and descended to a whisper. He claimed the delegates were "jeopardizing the union." He spoke in the name of the "boys in the foxholes." He reminded them of their support of Roosevelt and emphasized the "coming invasion." Above all, he placed at stake his own leadership, using his personal prestige to beguile the convention. "I am not aware that the pledge itself has had any disastrous effects upon organized labor," he asserted, in the face of his own previous complaints earlier in the convention about the "inequities" of the Little Steel formula and "unjust administration" of the wage-freezing Stabilization program.

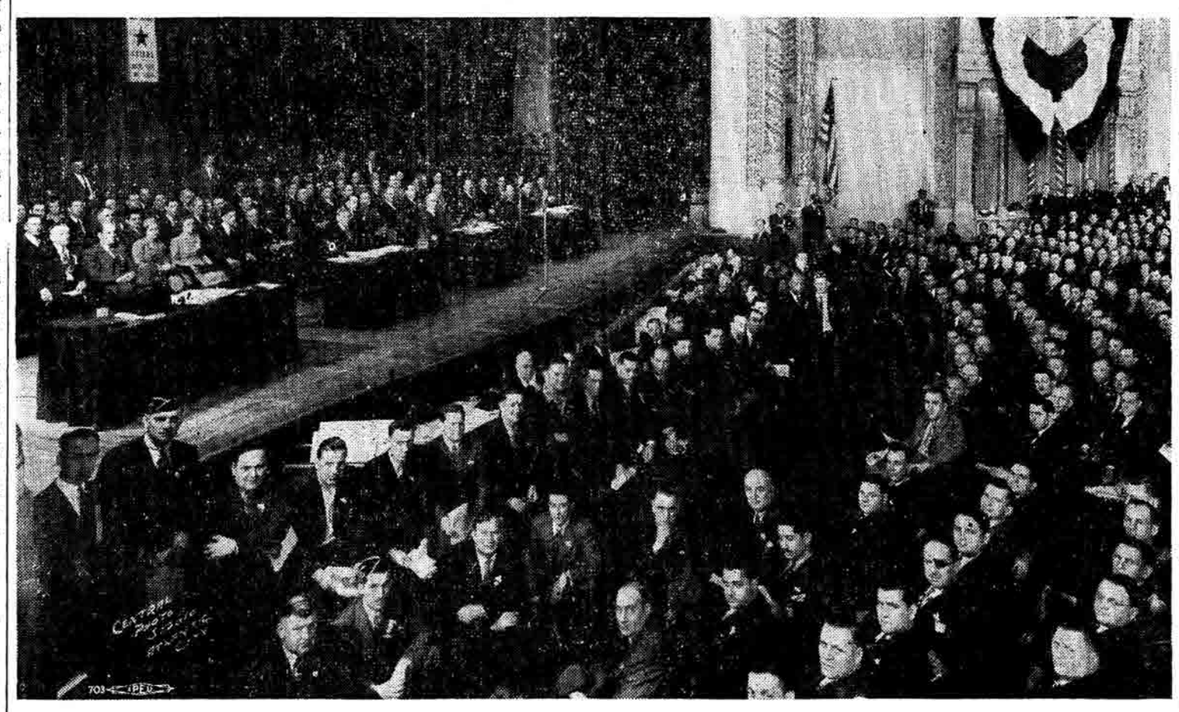
No sooner had he concluded, than his pay-rollee stooges began yelling, "Question, question." Murray hurriedly put to vote a motion to end debate. There was a loud affirmative. But an even stronger negative. Murray announced the motion for the previous question had carried.

**Immediately, a storm broke forth. Loud, angry shouts arose from every section of the hall. "Do you call that democracy?" several voices were heard to cry above the uproar. Delegates started moving down the aisles to get to the "mike". Scores were on their feet frantically waving their arms demanding the floor. To appease the rank and file, Murray, for the first time, was compelled to back down and permit further debate.**

Then a Negro delegate, Timothy Smith, president of Local 2603, Buffalo, N. Y., secured the floor. When he started to speak against the no-strike pledge, the machine men again began heckling, but his forceful words soon captured the attention of the convention.

In answer to Murray's flag-waving, Smith stated, "I have a son and two nephews in this war, who started out in perfect health, and two of them have already been shot up." Then he challenged Murray. "I have four or five grievances which I'll give the Executive Board. If they can settle them, I'll support the no-strike pledge. But I know they can't." He described graphically the conditions in his own shop, and the impossibility of getting anywhere with grievances. "Grievances are piled high in the War Labor Board." He evoked hearty applause, when he said, "Yes, we can take our grievances to arbitration. But what happens. The lawyer gets $12,000—**we get two cents."**

## *Scene at Cleveland Convention of CIO Steel Union*



Then he directly put the finger on Murray and his henchmen for aiding the companies against militant union men. **"There is a tendency among executives of this union to pick out and discipline stewards and local leaders for strikes in local plants. Those who have given blood, sweat and tears to build this union are being pinned up against the wall by the executives."**

## PUT THE FINGER ON MURRAY

But though Smith's talk was heavily applauded, Murray prevailed. The vote on the no-strike resolution carried, with a strong minority, perhaps a fourth of the delegates, shouting, "No!" A motion was then put to make it a unanimous vote. But the courageous militants, refusing to be intimidated, shouted "No!" once more, and prevented Murray from being able to claim full support for his do-nothing, capitulation program.

There were several important reasons why the no-strike resolution finally passed, despite the clear-cut sentiment of the rank and file against it. In the first place, the opposition was unorganized. The whole debate arose spontaneously. The militants have developed no outstanding leaders and spokesmen, and have not put forward a definite program of their own. The Murray machine, well-oiled and powerful, was on the alert for any caucuses, and it was next to impossible for the militants to get together and map out a program and strategy for the convention.

**The delegates did not have a choice of leadership. They were compelled to accept Murray, and therefore his program, because they did not see any other leadership which can replace the leaders now on top. Once they had expressed their indignation at the no-strike pledge, they nevertheless, in the majority, reluctantly went along with it once more rather than break with Murray.**

Most important of all, they are still committed, however unenthusiastically, to the Roosevelt administration and its war program. It was above all their inability to hurdle the political obstacle, which binds them to capitalist politics, including the no-strike policy, that frustrated their real desires to break out of the trap created by the no-strike pledge.

The only other significant discussion in which the delegates participated was on the resolution denouncing discriminatory policies against the Negro workers and calling for defense of the rights of Negroes in industry and the armed forces. Several delegates, white and Negro, spoke pointedly on this question, describing the practices of the companies in discriminating against Negro men and women. One Negro delegate made an impassioned plea, "When my boys come back, I want them to come back not like in 1918, when they made a mockery of democracy, but really to the four freedoms they talk so much about."

Walter Merriweather, a Negro delegate from Buffalo, hit the issue squarely on the head. He stated he was for the resolution. "But what made me rise to speak is the question of the way the resolutions are handled after they are passed. In the event you don't mean to put the resolution in action, then I would say to you vote against it. The working class of people among the Negroes are not satisfied by resolutions. They want them backed by actions. We do not hope to win our freedom just by resolutions." The Negro delegates who numbered over a hundred were amongst the clearest and most militant speakers.

## CHIEF OBJECTIVE TO BOLSTER WLB

One of the chief objectives of the Murray machine at the convention was to bolster up the government's labor relations machinery, particularly the War Labor Board. **But the only thing good the leadership could find to say about the War Labor Board is that it had granted the maintenance of membership clause, so that the union leaders could continue to collect the membership dues even if the workers were deprived of one gain after another and could not defend themselves against price rises, heavy taxation and the provocations of the corporations.**

Pressman, the union lawyer, disclosed that the employers plan to drag their testimony out in the current steel case for another year. He complained that they are arguing their cases individually, through over 300 lawyers, each presenting a separate brief. "You may well ask what are we to do?" He answered his own question by proposing that the workers get busy sending in resolutions.

Murray described in detail the "skullduggery" of the employers and government representatives on the WLB. He virtually admitted that the steel workers have already been turned down on their wage demands, when he described the wage-freezing report on price and wage stabilization recently issued by Stabilization Director Vinson, WLB Chairman Davis, OPA Director Bowles and the War Food Administrator, as a "report which for all practical purposes provided an answer to the steel workers demands."

Murray waxed indignant because he had written each of these government officials decrying their shift from previously stated positions, "but I never received a reply." What Murray concealed from the convention was that Roosevelt himself had demonstratively issued the report of his four underlings, and had publicly approved their conclusions.

**It was clear** that Murray sought to extricate himself from the impasse into which he had led the union's wage demands through reliance on the WLB. **At one point he chided the delegates because they were apathetic to the discussion on the union's wage policy. He tried to make it appear as if the delegates were not interested in the higher wages. But after the passage of the no-strike resolutions, the delegates realized that discussion about the campaign for higher wages was fruitless, when their hands had been tied and they could not fight effectively.**

It was also apparent that Murray is preparing to give up any real fight for the 17 cents an hour wage increase, the key issue before the WLB steel hearings. Not once in the entire convention did Murray or the other leaders make specific reference to the 17 cent raise question. All the emphasis was placed on the long-term "post war" demand for a guaranteed weekly and annual wage. It was obvious to all informed observers that the stress on this demand was intended as a demagogic subterfuge to direct the attention of the delegates away from the immediate wage issues, which mean a real fight against the Little Steel formula and the government.

Although no direct reference was made in debate to the labor party question, it was clear that Murray was tremendously concerned over the movement for an independent labor party. The political action resolution stated that "united labor action at this time should not take the form of any third party."

## MURRAY GIVES UP FIGHT

At the same time, mindful of the growing disgust of the workers with both the Democratic and Republican parties, Murray, Sidney Hillman, who addressed the convention, Van Bittner and the others tried to claim that Roosevelt stood above parties, "vote for him not as a Democrat, nor a Republican, but as the only candidate labor can trust." All mention of the poll-taxers carefully excluded, even in the resolutions, the fact that they are Democrats. Hillman called the primary victories of Senators Hill and Pepper "big victories for liberalism," although Hill had denounced the Anti-Poll Tax Bill and Pepper had publicly defended "white supremacy" when the Supreme Court pronounced against the "lily-white" primaries.

But formal endorsement of Roosevelt did not mean that there was any real enthusiasm on the part of the delegates. They supported Murray's political policy because their leaders had given them no other choice, and because no new leaders have arisen to lead the fight for genuine independent labor politics through the organization of a labor party.

**The formal decisions of the convention are certain only to frustrate the real desires of the steel workers, who are caught in a vicious trap by the no-strike policy and their ties with the capitalist government. The past months have seen a heightening of strikes and walkouts in the steel industry. These isolated and separate struggles will undoubtedly increase in the coming period.**

In desperation at their intolerable conditions and the provocations of the corporations, the steel workers will battle everywhere to break out of the straitjacket imposed on them. The no-strike policy will not halt strikes. It will only stimulate local, disconnected walkouts. Thus, the no-strike policy weakens and disperses the fighting powers of the workers. The direct responsibility for this situation lies with Murray and the CIO top leadership.

## A NEW LEADERSHIP IS NEEDED

The steel convention has shown once more that the workers are ready and eager for real struggle, but that their present servile leaders are not only incapable of leading an effective struggle, but are acting for the employers and government as a powerful brake on the actions of the union members.

Once more it is clearly revealed that before the workers can make any real headway in defending their rights and conditions, they will have to develop a new, militant leadership, able and willing to stand in the forefront of fighting struggles. **And, at the same time, the workers will have to break once and for all with the treacherous political "company unionism" of their present leaders, and enter the only road which can lead to genuine political salvation for labor, the road of their own party completely freed from any connection or taint with the old discredited parties of Big Business.**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# In The Colonies

By LI FU-JEN

### SOUTH AFRICA

The Union of South Africa is one of the wealthiest territories of the British Empire. It produces 40 per cent of the world's gold supply, a good half of the diamonds, and is rich in other mineral resources. A large part of the country is given over to agricultural pursuits and cattle-raising. Industry is neither large nor extensive, but it is growing. The white population of some 2,000,000 people is outnumbered four to one by the 8,000,000 natives who toil in the mines, factories and farms.

Juridically, the Union is not a colony but a "self-governing" Dominion which has the same international status as Canada and Australia. But for the bulk of the inhabitants—the natives—it is just as much a colony as India. In some respects, indeed, the South African natives are worse off than the colonial slaves of British imperialism in India. The Hindus, for example, are permitted to elect representatives to India's provincial legislatures, but the South African natives are denied even this dubious privilege. They are permitted only to elect three or four WHITE MEN as their "representatives" in the Union parliament. "Self-government" means simply the privilege of the white minority to rule over, oppress and exploit the black and colored majority.

**It is in the economic and social position of the natives, however, that the colonial status of South Africa is most glaringly revealed. Deep down in the gold mines of the Witwatersrand and the diamond mines at Kimberley many thousands of them toil in heat and humidity for wages that are the equivalent of about seven dollars a month.**

### INDENTURED LABOR

When the shift is over, they do not live the lives of free men, but are herded in company compounds with high fences. They may not leave the compounds without passes, and these are not granted freely. Native mine labor is indentured labor. The mining companies employ "recruiting agents" to scour the reservations in search of "hands" to hew the gold-bearing rock. The government has seen to it that the natives are so pressed by taxation in the reserves that they readily fall prey to the blandishments of the recruiting agents who hold out to them the prospect of "high wages" and a thrilling city life. They get neither. During the term of the contract they are divorced from their womenfolk. No women are allowed in the mining compounds.

**Working in the unhealthy atmosphere of the mines, living under crowded and unsanitary conditions, undernourished because of low wages, they are ready victims of disease. The average life of a native gold miner is about five years. If he survives that long he is stricken with silicosis and becomes tubercular. The remainder of his life is a lingering death.**

Because of the high mortality rate and the consequent need of the mine capitalists to replenish the labor supply, the government restricts contracts for native mine labor to a maximum of two years. This insures the periodic return of the workers to their villages in the reservations, where they breed more slaves for their white capitalist masters.

### MENIAL JOBS

Wages in industry and on the land are even lower than in the mines. All skilled and most semi-skilled occupations are barred to native workers. Only the worst menial jobs, including domestic service, are open to them. Domestic servants and workers in industry must get a pass from their white master if they wish to be out after dark and all are subject, in the cities, to a midnight curfew. Police courts are crowded each morning with these semi-slaves who have been picked up without passes and fines are imposed on them which make a sizeable dent in their meager pay. In numerous cases the victims must go to jail for several days because of inability to pay a fine about the equivalent of a dollar. In other cases they prefer jail to payment of the fine because it means free lodging and food for several days.

By law, every adult native male is obliged to perform work for some white master so many weeks of the year. Unless he can furnish proof that he has fulfilled this requirement, he is slated for a prison sentence. **When the Nazis and Fascists enforce laws such as this, there is an instant outcry: "Forced labor!" "Slave labor!" When the "democratic" imperialists do exactly the same thing, they call it the "White Man's Burden" and declare they are "preparing the natives for self-government."**

### FABULOUS FORTUNES

It is for the profit of British absentee bondholders that the native workers toil in the mines of South Africa. Fabulous fortunes matching those of America's "Sixty Families" have been amassed from the enslavement and exploitation which we have described above. The British imperialists have squeezed enormous wealth from the country. For the native inhabitants, the producers of all this wealth, they leave literally nothing. Social services are almost absent, as they are in India. There is not even universal grade school education and countless thousands must remain illiterate, qualified only for the most menial work.

A peculiarity of South Africa which distinguishes its social relationships from those of other colonies, is the fact that it has a white working-class. In India, the white population consists exclusively of the white capitalists and civil service employes of the British imperialist government. But in South Africa there is a distinct class differentiation among the whites. It is white men who perform all the skilled and most of the semi-skilled jobs in mines, on the railroads, in industry ,etc. They are exploited workers despite the fact that their wages are at least ten times greater than those of the natives and that there is a vast social gulf between the natives and themselves.

The rulers have deliberately fostered this white labor aristocracy in order to keep the two sections of the working-class divided and to use the whites as a sort of auxiliary instrument of imperialist rule. But the logic of capitalist development is gradually narrowing the social gulf between native and white workers. The growth of industry and the relative scarcity of white labor is bringing native workers into semi-skilled jobs that hitherto have been the sacred preserve of the whites. **This has a two-fold effect. It tends to raise the general standard of native labor and at the same time furnishes the capitalists with a lever for forcing down the wages of the whites.**

### DIVIDE LABOR

Against this trend, the white trade unions, imbued with a Jim Crow sentiment of race hatred against the natives, have fought for years in vain. Today the white workers are coming to realize that they have a common interest with their native fellow-workers and a spirit of comradeship and class solidarity is making itself felt. Things which would have seemed inconceivable ten years ago are happening today. Fraternal delegates from native trade unions sit at congresses of the Trades and Labor Council, the national trade union body. Some of the white unions have even abolished the color bar and admit native workers to membership on equal terms. And right now the Trades and Labor Council is campaigning to secure collective bargaining rights for native trade unions which thus far have received no recognition from the bosses or the government.

To the fore in combatting Jim Crow, in demanding equal rights for the natives, and in pushing the campaign for the class solidarity of white and black workers are the South African Trotskyists.

### EQUAL RIGHTS

**One of the Trotskyist organs, the** Workers' Voice, **carries at its masthead the immortal slogan of Karl Marx: "Labor with a white skin cannot be free while labor with a black skin is bound." As befits a paper devoted to winning the masses for revolutionary struggle, it appears in English and one of the native languages (Sesuto). Most of its columns are given over to the native struggle for equal rights, to combatting race chauvinism, and to urging unity between white and black workers on the basis of a program for the destruction of imperialism and the establishment of socialism.**

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

# The Negro Struggle

*By Charles Jackson*

## W. White: Negro Fighter or Nero Fiddler?

Our colorful secretary of the NAACP has recently returned from a 25,000 mile tour of the war fronts made under the auspices of the War Department for the purpose, we are told, of "studying the problems" of Negro soldiers. Since his return "the little man has had a busy day." There have been speeches, a nation-wide radio talk, plans for a membership drive to be led off with patriotic parades and, undoubtedly, many social gatherings for the top members of the NAACP and other selected elite guests.

Mr. White achieved his latest headline when he fired a three-question telegram at Gov. Dewey, potential Republican presidential candidate. Its contents: 1. Are you against the poll tax as a requirement for voting? 2. Do you favor the present bill pending in the Senate to abolish this tax? 3. Will you urge Republican Senators to vote for cloture?

Dewey, a foxy capitalist politician, replied in the affirmative to the first question and deftly sidestepped the last two. Thereupon, our Mr. White exposed sly Governor Dewey by pointing out that the last two questions were the most important. He inferred that Dewey was trying to "fool the Negro people" and that, therefore, the NAACP bigwigs would try to line up the membership behind good old FDR this fall.

### STEADY EYE

But, Mr. White, the Negro workers, exploited and insecure, and the Negro soldiers, drafted to fight for "democracy" in a Jim-Crow Army, are viewing your theatrical gestures wtih a steady eye. They will not be diverted by your grandstand play.

Nero played the fiddle while Rome burned. Are you a Negro fighter or a Nero fiddler? Are you distracting us with a lot of fiddling while our hearts burn with resentment against the second-class citizenship imposed upon us by American capitalism with its maxim of divide and exploit? Do you take your cue from the "militant mass" or are you playing to the tune of the "talented tenth?" Can't you hear the voice of the Negro masses roaring out the earnest demand: WE WANT EQUALITY—HERE AND NOW. In at least three ways, Mr. White, you are failing the Negro masses.

In the first place, we are ready for MASS ACTION. We are fed up with just reading about our plight, hearing about it and talking about it. **We want to DO something about it. If you mingle with the crowds as they leave the average Negro meeting, you will hear them asking: What have we accomplished by just listening to things we already know? What now? Why not an organized mass protest?**

### MASS ACTION

We see Negroes standing up in crowded theatres to object when Negroes are portrayed on the screen as ignorant clowns. Picketing of the Senate has been planned when the poll taxers start their filibuster. Such methods, if carried out in an organized fashion, will accomplish more to get us the equality we are supposed to be "guaranteed under the Constitution" than all the petitions, court cases, magazine articles and radio speeches for the next twenty years.

The NAACP has the mass membership and the organizational facilities for such measures and the masses are only waiting for the go-ahead signal from you, and others like you, Mr. White. They will not wait too long. We talk of a true democracy but charity begins at home. Why not put this question up to the thousands of members throughout the country and let them vote on it? Then you could tell whether your strategy of mere vocal and legal protest reflects the views of the rank and file.

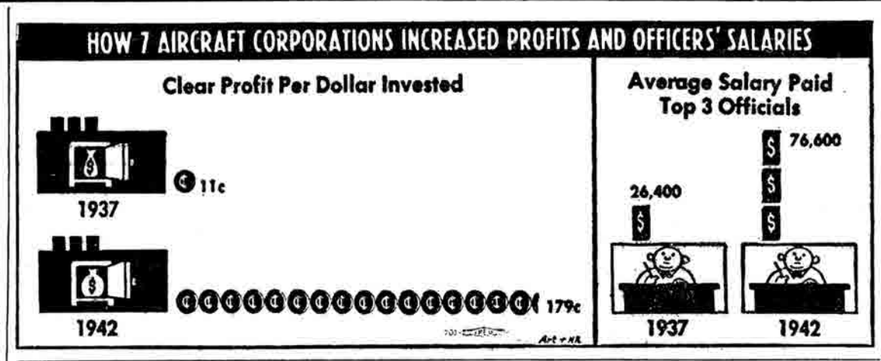
**In the second place, Mr. White, you have made no attempt to ally us as a minority group with any political parties that represent the working people as a whole.** Instead, you are still flirting with the capitalist parties, to the detriment of the Negro masses. You have, however, been forthright enough in taking a definite stand against all "radical" movements. The Negro, despite the fact that he has most to gain from Socialism, is sharply warned against it.

### THE TWO PARTIES

Mr. White, the Republican and Democratic parties are both controlled by the same big business interests. You are living in a political yesteryear when you ask the candidates of the two major parties to state their intentions and then support the one who promises the most in the prettiest words. What your Dewey and your Roosevelt promise the Negro means nothing. They both represent the big employers. Their interests never coincide with the interests of the working people, into which group the vast majority of Negroes fall.

The advanced workers realize that labor must have its own party. Independent political action on the part of labor is the only medium by which the aims of the NAACP or those of the working class as a whole will ever be realized. It simply doesn't make sense to see a member of a Jim-Crowed group support a candidate of a party which is controlled by those people who profit by Jim Crowism. The sooner we break with the two capitalist parties the sooner we will be on the road to equality. True, the white trade union bureaucrats are still backing the capitalist parties, but if you place up your finger on the labor scene you will find which way the wind is blowing among the rank and file. Furthermore, Negro workers, doubly oppressed, must lead, not follow, in the coming working class awakening.

**If you are a genuine Negro fighter, Mr. White, you will lead us, with our allies, the white workers, toward militant mass protest and political independence of labor; if you are merely a fiddler, you will stand idly at the head of this powerful mass movement playing your "Mairzy Doats" version of the Negro struggle until the onrushing flames of social progress consume you in their wake.**




# The 'Liquidation' Of The American Communist Party

(Continued from page 1)

**ago. The Stalinists are the only ones in the labor movement who support the "slave labor" compulsory service act, a measure borrowed from the Fascist countries. Even trade union bureaucrats like Green and Murray have protested against the forced-labor proposal.**

The Stalinist leaders surpass, if anything, the perfidy of the social-democrats during the last world war, in their betrayal of the working-class, their support of the imperialist war, their abandonment of the socialist struggle and their corrupt alliance with the class enemies of the workers.

In the first world war, Kautsky and the other renegades from socialism claimed that they had abandoned the struggle for socialism only "for the duration," that they had united with the capitalist class to defend the capitalist "fatherlands" only because the "fatherlands" were attacked. They inferred that the struggle against capitalism would be resumed by them when the war was over. But Browder and Company have openly adopted an avowed course of PERMANENT BETRAYAL: ". . . we are now extending the perspective of national unity for many years into the future."

The renegacy and betrayal of the social-democratic leaders during the first world war helped expose the traitors to socialism before the entire working-class. Lenin recognized this when he wrote:

"It has long been conceded that wars, with all their horrors and miseries, have this more or less outstanding beneficial result, that they mercilessly reveal, unmask, and destroy much rotten, obsolete, and dead matter in human institutions. The European war of 1914-15 has undoubtedly begun to yield beneficial results in that it has shown the advanced class of the civilized countries that a hideous, festering abscess has grown within its parties, and that an intolerable putrid stench is issuing from somewhere."

**The "intolerable putrid stench" issues today from the rotted Stalinist parties in every land. From instruments of revolutionary struggle they have been converted into venal agencies of capitalism and of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy in the Soviet Union which seeks to preserve capitalism in the western world against revolutions which would also undermine and destroy its own power and privileges as a parasitic caste.**

### STALINIST POLICY

The active counter-revolutionary policy of the Stalinists was indicated with transparent clearness by Browder in his interview with PM, when he said:

"Our emphasis upon agreement that transcends all class divisions is in no way an underestimation of the crisis of the present system. But we know that the only alternative to this program (of "national unity") we put forward is a real catastrophic smash-up of a large part of the world which may throw our country and most of the world back into barbarism for 50 or 100 years."

The "catastrophic smash-up" is Browder's cunning and dishonest way of referring to the socialist revolution. In order to ward off this danger to capitalism, he joins hands with Wall Street and advocates "national unity" — meaning submission of the workers to the capitalist exploiters. He seeks to rescue the decayed capitalist system from the perils of the socialist revolution. **The practical application of this policy is already to be seen in Italy, where the Stalinists have joined in the reactionary police-military dictatorship of Badoglio and the King in order to oppose, frustrate and destroy the Italian revolution.**

What do any honest, class-conscious workers in the ranks of Browder's "party" think of this policy of treachery and betrayal? The new line has caused stirrings in the party ranks and all the efforts of the controlling Stalinist chieftains have been directed toward confounding and crushing any incipient opposition. All those who joined the party and have remained in the party to fight for socialism must ask themselves whether they have any place in an "American Communist Political Association" which has united with capital against labor and openly abandoned the fight for socialism.

### SOVIET UNION

There are some who try to reassure themselves with the idea—sedulously fostered by Browder and Company—that defense of the Soviet Union requires at least temporary peace with the American capitalists because the latter are in temporary alliance with the Soviet Government. Browder declared in his Plenum report that "capitalism and socialism (meaning the Soviet Union) have begun to find the way to peaceful co-existence and collaboration in the same world." Is it not also necessary, therefore, for the American workers to collaborate with the capitalists since the alternative would be a "smash-up" of American capitalism and the loss of a powerful ally by the Soviet Union?

Workers who incline to this view should turn to their Leninist textbooks. It is precisely the continued existence of capitalism in America and elsewhere, which constitutes the real threat to the Soviet Union. The two cannot co-exist peacefully for an indefinite period of time. **Lenin pointed out time and again that unless the socialist revolution spread beyond the Soviet Union, the first workers' state would in the end be crushed and annihilated by capitalism.**

Lenin never failed to emphasize that the only real and genuine defense of the Soviet Union was the revolutionary class-struggle activity of the world working-class and that "national unity" with the capitalists was the vilest treachery to the Soviet Union. It must be remembered that the Soviet Union, in the great crisis of the civil war and imperialist intervention, was saved only by the independent action of the working-class which stood guard over the revolution and compelled the imperialist interventionists to withdraw.

Today, when the Red Army is battling to expel the Nazi invaders from Soviet soil and save the Soviet Union from destruction by imperialism, the greatest aid which the American working-class can give to this struggle is to intensify the class struggle. Only a socialist America can be a reliable ally of the Soviet Union. **On no account can defense of the remaining conquests of the October Revolution be entrusted to the imperialist bandits in Washington or London. Those who make peace with capitalism are betraying the Soviet Union to its mortal foes.**

Class-conscious workers in the ranks of Browder's "party" must soberly consider all the implications of the new policy upon which the convention will place its rubber stamp.

### CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKERS

If they wish to struggle for socialism, if they wish to defend the Soviet Union — which can only be defended by the struggle for socialism — they must abandon the putrid, stinking corpse of the Stalinist party. The process of decay and putrefaction has gone so far that it is utopian to imagine that the party can be reformed. In the struggle for socialism it long since yielded place to the Trotskyists, banner-bearers of revolutionary Marxism, socialist internationalism and the struggle for a socialist world.

**It is equally utopian for any oppositionists in Browder's party to think that they can create some sort of middle party, standing between Stalinism and Trotskyism and dedicated to the socialist struggle. Trotskyism is the Leninism of the present day. It is the embodiment and continuator of all the great traditions of Marxist-Leninist teachings and struggle. The mass revolutionary party cannot be built in opposition to the Trotskyists. It will be built as part and parcel of the Trotskyist movement.**

**The Trotskyists stand alone against the imperialists and their war. They stand alone against all the perfidious betrayers of the working class and the Soviet Union. Alone they hold aloft the proud banner of working-class internationalism, the banner of socialism. Every militant worker must find his place beneath its folds.**

# MCF Petitions For A Place On Ballot

**LANSING, Mich., May 9.—The Michigan Commonwealth Federation filed petitions today of nearly 8,000 signatures, mostly unionists, to place the party on the November ballot. 6253 is the required legal minimum.**

While the state secretary checks the sufficiency of the signatures, the MCF is studying the possibility of running candidates, as mandated by the March 4-5 and the State Committee meeting of April 30. The recommendations will be made to the July 28-30 convention, which will probably meet in Lansing

The hotel in Grand Rapids, where the July convention was scheduled to be held, cancelled the reservations in favor of the Democrats and Republicans who have also been scheduled to hold meetings.

## Where You Can Get THE MILITANT

**Boston**—Adelman's Newsstand 284 Tremont St.

**Chicago** — Socialist Bookshop, Room 421, 160 N. Wells St.

**Minneapolis** — Shinder's News Agency, Hennepin Ave. and 6th St.; Pioneer News Agency, 238 2nd Ave. South.

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# Ship Crackups Due To Profiteering Practices

*By Arthur Sharon*

Sixty-five merchant and naval seamen lost their lives last week in the sudden and tragic breakup of the Liberty ship, *S.S. John Straub* while in Alaska waters. This latest breakup follows by a few weeks a similar accident on the *S.S. Joseph Gaines* in which ten merchant seamen gave up their lives. These two cases are only the latest in a number of such accidents which have taken place since the Liberty ships were first launched.

**The public first became aware of what has long been an open secret in the shipping industry when the Liberty tanker, the S.S. Schenectady broke in two only a few hours after she was turned over by Kaiser's Swan Island yard to the new operators.** This event which occurred a year ago right alongside a dock in full view of several thousand witnesses, created such a scandal that it forced the holding of a public hearing. The hearing revealed that defective plates were furnished by the Carnegie Illinois Steel Corporation, that the ship design was faulty and the production methods questionable. Despite these revelations, the investigation was quietly dropped. Since then one Liberty ship after another has cracked open, with a number of them completely coming apart.

### SEATTLE WATERFRONT

On the Seattle waterfront today seamen are caustic about their old enemy the Maritime Commission. These men, among whom are numbered the most highly skilled sailors of any port in the world, are not complaining about the usual occupational hazards they face on every type ship. The Liberty ship, however, is in a different category. Were it not for the scarcity of jobs, the hundreds of seamen now involuntarily on the beach would never take a job on a Liberty ship. **Sailor Alexander Schenk, survivor of the Gaines disaster, testified before a congressional committee that he would never sail again on a Liberty ship. After a long stay on the beach, the next ship he made and the last he was ever to make was the John Straub.**

Practically every Liberty ship sailing out of Seattle to Alaska has been re-rigged on the initiative of the crews. But the sailors' art can scarcely overcome the basic structural faults of the Liberty ship. On some "Liberties" where large cracks open up—usually athwart the No. 3 hatch—attempts are made, as on the S.S. **Chief Washakie** to hold the ship together with turnbuckles and chains. This is the most a sailor can do at sea in such an emergency—and prepare the lifeboats for immediate launching.

### NEW PLANS

Despite the mounting evidence that the ships are non-seaworthy, the Maritime Commission went ahead with new plans to convert a large number of these ships into troop transports. Instead of gambling with 75 or 80 lives the proposal was to take a chance on 1500. Responding to mounting pressure, the Truman Committee formally held hearings on the question of the Liberty ship. It heard numerous witnesses and then adjourned after recommending that certain structural stiffeners be put into the Liberty ship. Admiral Land and his Commissioners continued to stoutly defend their department against what they called "sneak" attacks.

**It was at this stage of the controversy that the Stalinist fink Joseph Curran, decided to put in an appearance. Rushing to the defense of the Maritime Commission and in particular, of its union-busting head, Admiral Land, J. Curran, in the guise of an 'authority' defended the Liberty ship against all critics and denied that there was any question as to the ships being seaworthy. Everybody understood this speech for what it was—advance payment for favors he hoped to receive. Immediately afterwards the Soviet agencies in this country involuntarily gave the lie to Curran when they notified the Maritime Commission that they were refusing to accept the score or more Liberty ships that were due to be delivered to the Soviet Government unless these ships were re-built. The Russian Liberty ship S.S. Valery Chekov, incidentally, had also come apart in northern waters a short time before The Commission remonstrated that there was no shipyard space for the work of rebuilding. The Soviet agency insisted, however so eventually space was found in a Canadian yard for the rebuilding of these ships. (It is not known whether the Maritime Commission in defending the Liberty ship to the Soviet Agency representatives quoted Joseph Curran). Curran's finking did not go unnoticed by the seamen who were given a further object lesson in the cynical depravity of Stalinism.**

### LIBERTY SHIPS

When the Liberty shipbuilding program was inaugurated under the guidance of the late Secretary of the Navy Knox with his formula, "We can build 'em faster than they can sink 'em," this country's parasitical shipping fraternity and shipyard promotors were quick to seize the golden opportunity. Lay a keel, slap on the plates, force them in place with jacks, force them to meet with turnbuckles and if any conscientious workman should protest, the answer was quickly forthcoming: "Get the ship off the way, she'll be sunk soon anyway," and if a crack in the hull is puttied up and red leaded so as to look good, as in the case of the S.S. **Christopher Greenup**, that went too—as did everything else so long as a new record of production could be broadcast. Every hour saved on production was just that much more gravy.

Over a year ago Pioneer Publishers issued the book **Maritime** in which Frederick J. Lang first exposed the real plan of the government and the shipowners. While hymns of praise were being sung to the Liberty ship, this book which came out of the foc'sle, and was addressed to the foc'sle, had this to say. . . **"the present mass production Liberty ship is a jerry built job, made to be sunk. They are thrown together with thin plates. . ." Further, he said, they are "slow ten knot jobs in no way adequate to meet the demands of present day shipping, especially under war time conditions." This is now confirmed by the decision of the Maritime Commission to abandon the 3 year old Liberty ship program in favor of building the Victory ship which will be stronger and faster.**

# SHOP-TALKS ON SOCIALISM

*By V.*

**"You can't ever have a socialist society because it's against human nature." You hear that argument every so often. People use it almost without thinking. But this only shows they haven't figured out just what human nature is—and they haven't a very clear conception of socialism. They usually just mean that everybody wants to get rich, that everybody says, "I'm for me, and to Hell with the other guy." That everybody would be sore because he couldn't be a millionaire under socialism, and they'd all cheat, rob, and cut the other fellow's throat to become wealthy.**

But people wouldn't act that way. In fact, although many people act in this manner today, you can see right alongside of this behavior a different kind of action that shows what they'll be like tomorrow.

A machinist, for instance, has to be very careful of his micrometers, as they cost from $6 and up and are very hard to get. Likewise with surface and height gauges, as in most shops he has to buy them himself. If someone should take them he might have to work a week or more to get a new set. So he keeps them under lock and key. But in the case of small drill bits and reamers, that in former years he had to buy himself, he just places them in a rack at night and there they are the next day. Why? Because they're cheaper now, easier to produce, and the company supplies them. Who would bother to steal them? "But people don't steal what's easy to get." Yes, that's just it. And under socialism everything would be easy to get.

### EXPENSIVE TOOLS

Well, take a more expensive tool. A foundryman might use an airgrinder or chipping gun. That's more expensive than a micrometer. And he doesn't even lock it up when he goes home. True, it's "company property" but he regards it as his. The weight and balance of it is just as he wants it, and the other fellows regard it as his too, and ask his permission, not the company's, if they want to borrow it from him.

It's the same with much more expensive tools too. A welding machine, for instance. A welder gets to calling it his. He uses the same one, day in and day out. And if any other welder took his machine and line without asking, he'd throw him out of the shop and the other fellows would help him.

But why is it this way? How can a thing be his and the company's at the same time? Because that's the way the fellows look at it. And when the fellows and the rest of the workers kick the capitalists out, the tools will be one man's and everybody's at the same time. And that's the way the fellows will look at the whole shop too. It will belong to each of them and to all of them. And why should they want to steal the shop from the rest if they know they can make as many fine things as they want to, as many autos and airplanes and clothing and fishing tackle as they choose, for the use of everybody, and make it all far better and far easier than today, without layoffs and shutdowns. The fellows would all realize this, because they'd be doing it, and if anyone was screwy enough to try to take over the shop for himself, the fellows would give him the same thing they'd give to a sneak who'd steal a pair of mikes—the bum's rush!

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# 10 Years Ago In The Militant

**MAY 19, 1934**

SAN FRANCISCO—A petition for the freedom of Tom Mooney was filed for the first time in a Federal District Court, charging that his conviction was obtained by the knowing use of perjured testimony. The writ cited a Supreme Court decision in the Scottsboro Case to substantiate its demand for federal action. Mooney and Warren K. Billings had been convicted in 1916 by a California state court; previous appeals made to state bodies and to consecutive governors of California had been denied.

NEW YORK—A powerful strike wave, impelled by the workers' growing disillusionment with the National Recovery Act (NRA), was sweeping the country from coast to coast, **The Militant** reported. It involved "longshoremen, automobile workers, iron ore, copper and coal miners, textile workers, and many others;" in Alabama, "Negro and white workers fought shoulder to shoulder." The main issue in this significant movement was "the struggle for organization. . . the demand for union recognition."

PARIS—Leon Trotsky, ordered to leave France in the middle of April, was still without a place of asylum. A frenzied campaign of incitement against Trotsky was begun by the capitalist press. **The Militant** quoted an article from the Paris **Le Matin**, headed "Trotsky Behind the Troubles in France," which exemplified the capitalist fear of the great Bolshevik.

NEW YORK—In the first of a series of articles on the political perspectives of the American Workers Party, Felix Morrow wrote an analysis of its growth out of the 1929 Conference for Progressive Labor Action. The Conference was an organization of trade union progressives. In December, 1933, it met in convention and decided to set up a new revolutionary organization — the American Workers Party. The program of the new party, issued in 1934, indicated a strong leftward tendency, but displayed a lack of theoretical clarity.

*PIONEER PARAGRAPHS*

# CAPITALIST CLASS CAN NO LONGER TOLERATE DEMOCRACY

After the war a series of brilliantly victorious revolutions occurred in Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary and later in Spain. But it was only in Russia that the proletariat took full power into its hands, expropriated the exploiters, and knew how to create and maintain a Workers' State. Everywhere else the proletariat, despite its victory, stopped half way because of the mistakes of its leadership. As a result, power slipped from its hands, shifted from Left to Right and fell prey to Fascism. In a series of other countries power passed into the hands of a military dictatorship. Nowhere were the parliaments capable of reconciling class contradictions and assuring the peaceful development of events. Conflicts were solved arms in hand.

The French people for a long time thought that Fascism had nothing whatever to do with them. They had a republic in which all questions were dealt with by the sovereign people through the exercise of universal suffrage. But on February 6, 1934, several thousand Fascists and Royalists, armed with revolvers, clubs and razors, imposed upon the country the reactionary government of Doumergue, under whose protection the Fascist bands continue to grow and arm themselves. What does tomorrow hold?

Of course in France, as in certain other European countries (England, Belgium, Holland Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries), there still exist parliaments, elections, democratic liberties, or their remnants. But in all these countries the class struggle is sharpening, just as it did previously in Italy and Germany. Whoever consoles himself with the phrase, "France is not Germany," is hopeless. In all countries the same historic laws operate, the laws of capitalist decline. If the means of production remain in the hands of a small number of capitalists, there is no way out for society. It is condemned to go from crisis to crisis, from need to misery, from bad to worse. In the various countries the decrepitude and disintegration of capitalism are expressed in diverse forms and at unequal rhythms. But the basic features of the process are the same everywhere. **The bourgeoisie is leading its society to complete bankruptcy.** It is capable of assuring the people neither bread nor peace. **This is precisely why it cannot any longer tolerate the democratic order.** It is forced to smash the workers by the use of physical violence. The discontent of the workers and peasants, however, cannot be brought to an end by the police alone. Moreover, it is often impossible to make the army march against the people. It begins by disintegrating and ends with the passage of a large section of the soldiers over to the peoples' side. That is why finance capital is obliged to create special armed bands, trained to fight the workers just as certain breeds of dogs are trained to hunt game. The historic function of Fascism is to smash the working class, destroy its organizations, and stifle political liberties when the capitalists find themselves unable to govern and dominate with the help of democratic machinery.

**(From "Whither France," by Leon Trotsky, pp. 7-8. Pioneer Publishers, 1936. 160 pp. cloth 75c, paper 50c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y.)**

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**To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.**

**— LEON TROTSKY**

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## CIO Political Action

As an aftermath of the movement for the eight hour day, characterized by tremendous strikes and demonstrations in May 1886, the Chicago trade unions answered the repressions of the employers by launching the United Labor Party. Meeting on September 27, 1886, the United Labor Party drew up its platform and nominated its candidates. The preamble to the platform stated: "It is impossible for a trade unionist to be an active political worker in the Republican or Democratic Parties and remain an honest man in the ranks of labor." In the fifty odd years that have elapsed, the truth of this statement has been confirmed again. Just this last week, it has been illustrated anew by the CIO head, Philip Murray.

When the CIO Political Action Committee was first launched, Murray wrote an article in the February issue of the *American Magazine*, purporting to be a statement of principles of the Political Action Committee. "We are," Murray declared, "for the present, committed to no man or political party. We shall, in the next few months, have our organization perfected and its general principles agreed upon. We shall then, before the national convention of the two major parties, hold a national meeting or conference of our own. We shall draw up and present to the American people a specific set of principles for the general welfare. Then, after the political conventions, we can decide what action to take regarding the two parties and the individual candidates, whether for state or national offices, or for the presidency."

The impression that Murray was obviously attempting to create was that the CIO Political Action Committee would meet in national conference and draw up its own program. This program would then be submitted to both major parties and the party and candidates endorsing the CIO program would be supported in the election. The ambiguous formulation was intended to give lip service to the idea of independent political action which was permeating the ranks of the CIO.

What has happened to this promise? Last week Murray mounted the rostrum of the Steel convention in Cleveland and announced his backing for Roosevelt without asking for any commitments. What has happened to the promise made by Murray in his article that the CIO Political Action Committee would endorse only those candidates who supported its program? The promise has been forgotten. It was merely a scrap of paper. It was only demagogy.

By their unconditional support of Roosevelt, Murray and the other leaders of the CIO have committed themselves in advance to any program written not by Murray and Hillman, but by the political agents of Big Business who dominate and control the Democratic party. It is truly impossible, as the militant workers of Chicago pointed out as long ago as 1886, for a trade unionist to be an active worker in the Republican or Democratic parties and remain an honest man in the ranks of labor.

## Stalin's Accomplices

The Social Democrats in this country profess to be deeply disturbed and outraged by the actions of the Stalinists in rushing to salvage the corrupt, reactionary regime of Badoglio and the House of Savoy. It goes without saying that the treachery of the Kremlin and its hirelings merits condemnation. It is likewise unquestionable that the Stalinists have played the leading role in this whole filthy transaction. But they were not alone. They had accomplices.

After all, the Stalinist poodles weren't the only trained animals to turn a sudden somersault. But from all the fulminations of the *New Leader* one would never suspect that *every single one of the six parties* of the "democratic" Junta had participated in "reconstituting" the Badoglio government. There is not a mention of the despicable compliance and treachery of the Italian "socialists." Not a word about the role of Sforza, that great champion of "democracy"—whose literary contributions used to be one of the *New Leader's* proudest features. Not a whisper about the whole corrupt liberal crew, along with the eminent Professor Croce, who now sit cheek by jowl with the Stalinists in the "new" Badoglio cabinet.

These hypocrites behave like the quick-witted crook who apprehended in a crime shouts "Stop, thief!" and goes through the motions of joining in the chase.

The indignation of the Social Democrats against the Stalinist betrayal in Italy is a pathetic exhibition of hypocrisy. Not only are they accomplices in the crime, but they are avowed supporters of reactionary, counter-revolutionary regimes. For example, they are staunch supporters of Mikhailovich in Yugoslavia, and they never tire of chiding Churchill for not giving undivided allegiance to the "Chetnik" cause. Just what is the essential difference between the monarchical-clerical-reactionary shadow regime of King Peter of Yugoslavia and the Victor Emmanuel-Badoglio outfit? Slice it how they will, the Social Democrats demonstrate—as they have in the past—by their support of Mikhailovich that they have nothing in principle against collaboration with police-military dictatorships. What they do object to is having the Stalinists cut in ahead of them. What really disturbs them is that the competition of a really big concern like the Kremlin's peddling the same wares, is pushing them out of business.

## Franco Deal

The deal between Washington-London and Franco, the fascist butcher of Spain, has thrown the liberals into a new dither. Freda Kirchwey of the *Nation* and the editors of *PM* have been covering reams of paper to demonstrate that Franco is an untrustworthy, scheming rascal who has no intention whatever of living up to his agreement to cut down on his exports to the Nazis; that the Allied diplomats have really been imposed upon; that the most innocent dupes are in Washington, and so forth and so on. You can always rely on the liberals to muddle things up.

To be sure, the "restrictions" allegedly imposed on Franco are nothing but a fake. But who are the actual perpetrators of this fake? Precisely those gentlemen—headed by Churchill and Roosevelt—to whom the liberals are addressing their admonitions and expostulations. Every dirty deal needs some sort of a covering. The "restrictions" on the export of wolfram, etc., from Spain to Germany are simply a cover and nothing more.

The entire history of the Franco regime and of the Allied dealings with it have long demonstrated that Franco exists and survives only by virtue of the support he has unfailingly received from the "democracies." They helped hoist him into power by their policy of "neutrality" during the Spanish civil war: they have since kept him in the saddle by propping his perfidious regime. The downfall of Franco is not something that Washington and London would either welcome or help bring about. On the contrary, they are as fearful of such an eventuality as Franco himself. They fear the surge of the revolutionary masses that would thereupon erupt once again on the Iberian peninsula and that would merge with the greater conflagration which is impending on the European continent itself.

Washington and London have proved time and again (the Darlan deal, the Badoglio deal, the entire history of the AMG) that the Franco type government is the one type on which they depend and in which they place any confidence at all to stem the tide of proletarian revolution in Europe. Their policy in support of Franco is directly related to their basic European policy.

Generally speaking, the utterly reactionary character of the capitalist "democracies" becomes most glaringly revealed today when the tasks of the counter-revolution are sharply posed by the course of events. Too horrified to open their eyes in order to look reality—and themselves—in the face, the liberals invent all sorts of fantasies, alibis, and downright lies. In point of fact, that is their chief social function in the service of capitalist reaction.

## Workers' BOOKSHELF

**THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA** by William Henry Chamberlain. Charles Scribners' Sons. New York, 1944. 307 Pp. $2.75.

William Henry Chamberlain is one of a legion of newspaper correspondents who, disillusioned by the crimes of Stalinism, has become a trumpeter for the imperialist "democracies". In the past period he has been busy issuing long indictments of the Soviet Union from the pages of the **New Leader**, attacking Stalinism and the Bolshevism of Lenin and Trotsky with equal venom.

But American capitalism is embarked for the present on a policy of making a deal with Stalin, clearly recognizing the counter-revolutionary and anti-working class character of his bureaucratic regime. The leading spokesmen of American capitalism frankly praise the Kremlin dictator for his reactionary policies and so Chamberlain, reluctantly it is true, and strewing reservations as he goes along, must follow suit. This **"anti-Stalinist", who attacks Bolshevism as being practically the same as Stalinism, approves precisely those reactionary measures of the Stalin regime which the capitalists applaud. This is the main content of Chamberlain's "impartial", "non-extremist" estimate of the Soviet Union** in The Russian Enigma.

Three themes run like threads through the entire book. The first is that Bolshevism and Stalinism are products of Russian absolutism. A long history of Russia under Czarist oppression is given in Chapter II in order to arrive at the conclusion: "From the extremism of autocracy it was an easy step to the opposite pole of extremism; revolutionary dictatorship."

The element of truth in this assertion, that the same backwardness of Russia that nurtured the iron despotism of the Czar was partially responsible for the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy, is not what Chamberlain emphasizes. He wishes to convey the idea that Russian "tradition" makes it easy for the Soviet masses to put up with tyrants and dictators, "bearing hardship stoically over long periods of time," suddenly "flaring up in an outburst of wild revolt" and then succumbing to a new group of dictatorial rulers.

Although Chamberlain demonstrates clearly enough that a line of blood separates Stalinism from Bolshevism, he makes every effort to identify the revolutionary dictatorship of the Soviets in the first days of the Revolution and Stalin's later dictatorial regime. For him Stalin is merely a "natural" successor to Lenin as Lenin is a "natural" successor to the Czars.

The second and third themes of the book are closely linked together; in fact they are two variations of one and the same theme. Chamberlain explains that world revolution was a fantastic, utopian dream of Lenin and Trotsky, and, consequently, Stalin's reactionary policies (of chauvinism, the establishment of new privileged bureaucracy, etc.) were "necessary", "practical" steps for the good of the Soviet Union.

Chamberlain continually implies that Lenin and Trotsky conceived of the world revolution as something that would appear all at once and without fail. **From this false premise he reaches the doubly false conclusion that since the revolutionary movements in Europe were temporarily defeated the idea that successful socialist revolutions can take place in the rest of the world has been demonstrated once and for all to be false. This is Chamberlain's bridge to justification of Stalin's counter-revolutionary policies.**

To sum up: Stalin's glorification of the brutal czars, the speed-up in the factories, the growing disparity of income between the masses and the bureaucrats, all these and more are hailed by Chamberlain as necessary steps by the "practical", "hardheaded" Stalin to defend the Soviet Union.

"Without this [Stalin's] swing to the Right, without the many measures. . . which gave more scope to individual ambition and initiative and made for greater efficiency in education, industry and agriculture, the Soviet Union would scarcely have stood up so well to the German onslaught," Chamberlain conveniently forgets how the Red Army and the Soviet masses fought 25 years ago under Lenin and Trotsky on twenty-one fronts, at a time when the country was devastated and ruined.

Thus we see the phenomenon of a "democrat" who inveighs loud and long against the undemocratic, totalitarian practices of the Stalinist bureaucracy, praising and justifying the very reactionary measures which have given rise to and sustained that bureaucracy!

In **The Russian Enigma** we get a revealing insight into the character of "anti-Stalinists" of the Chamberlain stripe. For the reactionary measures which strengthen the totalitarian Kremlin clique there is nothing but approval. **For the only course that will destroy the bureaucracy and thus end the totalitarian methods that Chamberlain says he dislikes, the extension of the socialist revolution to the rest of Europe, there is ridicule and dismissal. In both attitudes Chamberlain remains a true apologist and defender of capitalism.**

Reviewed by DAVID JEFFRIES

## *Montgomery Ward Workers Are Left Holding The Bag*

(Continued from page 1)

**is as precarious as it has been at any time since its representatives first talked with Ward managements more than two years ago."**

Second, we learn that leading corporations throughout the Chicago area are following Avery's lead and are refusing to renew union contracts, until new elections are held. This campaign is of an especially invidious character, as it wears out union energies and resources in preparing every year for elections which—even when won—"don't mean a thing."

INVIDIOUS CHARACTER

Third, the National Labor Relations Board, under the pressure of Big Business and its new labor-baiting offensive, has already stated that under present procedure the employer has the privilege of seeking examination of union representation when "confronted by complaints by two or more unions." **The Board further announces that it is now calling a hearing to consider instituting a new regulation which will permit the employer to petition for union elections.**

TRUE MEANING

The true meaning of this vicious anti-labor thrust can be fully understood when we recall that the big corporations launched a full scale campaign two years ago for the passage of precisely such an "amendment" to the Wagner Act, by Congressional action. Due to union pressure, this "amendment" failed. Today, the NLRB a Roosevelt administrative agency, blandly announces that it is considering adopting this anti-labor provision by its own arbitrary decree.

The Ward case must become an alarm signal for all labor. Its lesson is unmistakably clear: if organized labor persists in placing reliance in boards, hearings, litigations, lawyers, briefs, etc., it will slowly be sapped of every bit of its fighting strength. **The corporations will then quickly move to wipe out the whole union movement and bring back the open shop. Labor can smash this conspiracy against its existence and rights only by reasserting its independence. The unions will become independent again only when they cease to rely on the WLB and reassert their right to strike.**

**For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs**

## International Notes

GERMANY

Signs are mutiplying that the German workers, held down for eleven years under the bestial totalitarian rule of the Nazis, are recovering their confidence and will to struggle. Following recent reports of a revival of genuine Communist activity among the workers and the constitution of an underground trade union center, comes news of an extensive strike movement in the most important cities, including Berlin, Hamburg, Zeesen and Brandenburg.

According to the British Ministry of Information, the terrible Allied air bombardments are the immediate cause of the strikes. It is usually the workers' residential districts, grouped about the industrial sections of the cities, which take the brunt of the attacks. Tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of working-class families have had their homes destroyed. The conditions of life, bad enough in normal times, have become intolerable.

On top of the harassment and anguish caused by the raids, and the loss of sleep during night alerts, the German workers are being forced by the Nazi taskmasters to speed up on the job so that material losses may be made good and the war machine kept running. Dissatisfaction is mounting and in some of the big industrial centers has almost reached the stage of open rebellion.

The German armed forces are also beginning to be infected with the spirit of revolt. A report carried by the Swedish newspaper **Stockholm Tidningen states that** about 100 of Hitler's Austrian soldiers were killed or wounded recently during a two-day battle when an entire battalion of Austrian Alpine troops on the Murmansk front mutinied. Their meat ration had been cut and they had been told that they were not to be relieved although they had been stationed on the Murmansk front since the beginning of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union.

**Col.-Gen. Eduard Dietl, commander of the German army in the Arctic, ordered newly-arrived German troops to quell the mutiny and a battle ensued. The surviving mutineers were sent to concentration camps in Norway and will be sent to Germany for court-martial, the Swedish paper said.**

INDIA

There is probably more than meets the eye in the decision of the British imperialists to release Mohandas K. Gandhi, Indian nationalist leader, who was imprisoned in August, 1942 in the Aga Khan's palace at Poona following a decision of the Congress Party to embark on a campaign of civil disobedience.

Gandhi's failing health was given as the reason for his release. That is undoubtedly part of the reason. In addition the day after his release was effected, Gandhi's spokesmen said it was a "foregone conclusion" that he would meet with the British viceroy, General Wavell, "in an attempt to reconcile the differences between Great Britain and India and thereby swing a united India into the war." (AP dispatch from New Delhi, May 7). The Japanese invasion of northeast India in the Manipur region is worrying the British imperialists no end because all India is seething with hatred of British rule.

The Japanese imperialists, making use of Subhas Chandra Bose, are proclaiming themselves the "liberators" of India and, according to a **New York Times** dispatch from Washington on April 15, their propaganda efforts in this direction "are not wholly unsuccessful." As the dispatch pointed out, "Bose is no comic opera figure to Indian nationalists. The full story of his fight against British rule would fill a book. From 1924 to 1939 he moved in and out of British jails. . . . Elected president of the All-India Congress in 1938, he split with the Gandhi faction in the following year and resigned. He then formed the Forward Bloc of nationalists, who demanded open resistance to the British. In Singapore last October Bose announced the organization of the provisional government of free India. He himself assumed the position of Chief of State, Home Minister and War Minister."

**The masses of India certainly will not get freedom and independence from the Japanese imperialists, who merely wish to substitute themselves for the British as the enslavers of the country. Nor will they win their liberty under the leadership of Gandhi, whose doctrine of nonviolence has been the greatest asset of the British bandits. Liberty can be gained only through revolutionary struggle.**

## Allied And Axis Bankers Still Do Business As Usual

**There's a war on. The aim of the war, according to Roosevelt and Churchill, is to crush the Axis in order to preserve democracy and to bring peace and freedom to all the world. For this supposed aim, men are dying on all the battle-fronts. They will die on May 22 as on every other day. But that is not going to prevent the moguls of American and British Big Business from gathering in Berne, Switzerland on that same day, together with Nazi and Japanese capitalists, to split a dividend that is to be declared by the Bank of International Settlements.**

"War or no war," states the N. Y. Times, authoritative Wall Street mouthpiece, "the Bank of International Settlements will hold its 14th annual meeting on May 22 at its headquarters in Basle, Switzerland. What is more, representatives of the Allied nations, although they be junior members, will attend the meeting, as well as banking representatives of the Axis nations. According to schedule, the president, Thomas H. McKittrick, a U. S. citizen, will preside, and the directors will declare a dividend."

Due to votes gained through occupation of most of Europe, Hitler's government acquired nominal control of the Bank, which is a clearing house of international finance capital. But the good "democratic" bankers of America and Britain have continued their membership. Dividends are more important to them than high-sounding principles. American banks headed by the First National Bank of New York represent American interests in the Basle bank. First National is a J. P. Morgan enterprise.

**And so on May 22 the American and British bankers will sit cheek by jowl with their Nazi and Japanese banking confreres in Basle. News of this amicable get-together, one may be sure, will not appear in Army newspapers published on the battle-fronts. It might evoke dangerous thoughts in the minds of the soldiers.**

## Canadian Workers Protest Release of Two Fascists

Two of Canada's top flight fascists, Joseph Farr and John Lorimer, have been released from internment by the Canadian government and the action has aroused a storm of protest similar to that in England when the Churchill government released Sir Oswald Mosley, the British fascist leader.

The pair were interned following a trial in which conclusive proof was adduced of their connections with Mosley and also with Fritz Kuhn, New York leader of the German-American Bund. But their release was effected secretly last month and has only just come to light. When questioned as to the why and wherefore, Minister of Justice Louis St. Laurent replied: "The Department of Justice does not make any public statements when men are interned or when they are released."

Protests have followed thick and fast. The CIO United Electrical Workers Union in Canada asked all its locals to hold protest meetings and the Toronto District Labor Council (AFL) passed a unanimous resolution, denouncing the government action. When 81 merchant seamen docked in Halifax after a North Atlantic run they sent a protest to St. Laurent which read: "We demand that they and all fascists be interned immediately." Royal Canadian Navy gunners serving on the same ship with the seamen also signed the protest.

**The tender consideration which the "democratic" capitalist governments show for avowed fascists is not extended to genuine anti-fascist fighters in the working-class movement, many of whom languish in prison camps in Canada as well as other parts of the English speaking world. Mosley and Farr and Lorimer were interned in the first place, not because they were fascists and enemies of democracy, but because they were considered aides of the German rivals of Anglo-American capitalism. Their release is one more proof that democracy is not the real issue of the war.**

## Corporation 'Farmers' Attempt New Land-Grab

The great land-owning barons are out to get their talons on the great agricultural reclamation project being carried out by the Federal government in California's rich Central Valley. An expenditure of $200,000,000 has been authorized for the irrigation of the project which is expected to bring some 550,000 acres of new land into cultivation.

In their first move to get control of the acreage, the big landowning interests, who are all closely tied up with the Wall Street banks, are pushing an amendment to the Reclamation Act of 1902 which would delete the provision that water from Federal irrigation systems shall not be given to landowners holding more than 160 acres.

Without an assured water supply, there is no inducement to the land-grabbing hogs to get busy and buy up large tracts. But if the restrictive section of the Reclamation Act is removed there is little doubt that the major part if not all of the Central Valley lands to be irrigated will fall into the hands of the millionaire agricultural capitalists, thus defeating the avowed purpose of the project, which is to provide farm land for returning war veterans.

Before a Senate Commerce Committee conducting hearings on the project last week came a 73-year-old California dirt farmer, Frank T. Swett, who spoke against "caviar-champagne landowners" engaged in undermining the stakes of the real working farmers. **He predicted that if the water provision were eliminated from the Reclamation Act, the big landowning corporations would become "as dominant as the Junker landlords of East Prussia."**

**The dirt farmers, the men who do the backbreaking toil on the land, and who are in constant danger of losing their holdings cannot find salvation through pleas to Congress, which is the organ of big business. They can win security only by struggle in unity with their true allies — the workers in the cities who, like themselves, are oppressed and exploited by the class of big capitalists.**